

REPORT

OF THE



Proceedings of a Public Meeting

OF THE

NATIVE COMMUNITY

HELD IN THE

TOWN HALL,

ON FRIDAY, THE 29TH JULY, 1853.

CALCUTTA.

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1853.

REPORT

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF A

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE NATIVE COMMUNITY.

This was the most crowded meeting that has ever been witnessed in Calcutta. Hundreds upon hundreds were obliged to return without getting beyond the steps of the Town Hall. The number of persons present in the Hall and its immediate neighbourhood, have been variously estimated at from 3,000 to 10,000. Almost every Native gentleman of distinction resident in or near Calcutta appears to have been present, and every section of Native Society was fairly represented. The crowd was so oppressive, that several gentlemen were compelled to retire, and among others, we may mention the names of Rajah Ishur Chunder Sing and Bahoo Rajender Dutt, as they were to have taken an active part in the proceedings of the day.

At 4 p. m. the Sheriff opened the meeting by reading the public advertisement as follows:—

NOTICE OF A NATIVE PUBLIC MEETING.

In compliance with the following requisition, I beg to convene a Public Meeting of the Native Community at the Town Hall, this day, Friday, the 29th instant, at 4 o'clock p. m.

F. BELLAIRS.

Sheriff.

Calcutta, }
29th July, 1853. }

TO F. BELLAIRS, ESQ.,

Sheriff of Calcutta.

SIR,—We the undersigned request that you will do us the favor to call a Public Meeting of the Native Community at the Town Hall, this day, Friday, the 29th instant, at 4 o'clock p. m. for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning

Parliament on the subject of the proposed Ministerial Scheme
for the Government of India.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

RADAKANT RAJA BAHADOOR.
 RAJA KALIKISSEN BAHADOOR.
 PERTAB CHUNDER AND ISHUR CHUNDER SING.
 SUTTA CHURN GHOSAL.
 AUSHOOTOS DAY.
 MUTTY LOLL SEAL.
 HORO CONAR TAGORE.
 RAMANAUTH TAGORE.
 DEBENDER NAUTH TAGORE.
 JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE.
 MONOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE.
 COSSINAUTH MULLICK.
 KISSEN KISHORE GHOSE.
 JUGGADANUND MOKERJEE.
 SREEKISSEN SING.
 GREENDER CHUNDER GHOSE.
 HOREE MOHUN SEN.
 TOOLSEE DOSS MULLICK.
 OBOY CHURN BANERJEA.
 AGA MIRZA SHERAZEE.
 KALIDAS DUTT.
 DENOBUNDOO MULLICK.
 RAJENDRO MULLICK.
 GOBIND CHUNDER SEN.
 RAJENDER DUTT.
 GOPAUL LAUL TAGORE.
 CHUNDER MOHUN CHATTERJEA.
 PEARY CHAND MITTRA.
 RAMGOPAUL GHOSE.
 SOORUT RAM ROY BHUN.
 DHONEEROOP MULL BAGMUL.
 KHEM CHUND CHOWBAY.
 RAM CHAND GOCOOOL CHAND.
 SETULPERSAUD KHURUCH DOSS.
 SITTARAM TOOLSIRAM.
 MOOTSIMUD SREE GOPAUL.
 MUDDUBONE DOSS DWARKA DOSS.
 SHAIR LOLL MOHAMUD.

Calcutta, }
 25th July, 1853. }

On an intimation from the Sheriff that the meeting should elect its own chairman, Raja Radakant Bahadoor was voted into the chair. He addressed the meeting in Bengallee to the following effect :—

As this is exclusively a Native meeting, it is meet that I should address it in our own language.

In the first place, it is incumbent on me to say, and on all others to know, that we have not met here with any feelings of hostility towards the Hon'ble East India Company, but with the view of obtaining from our benign rulers certain privileges to which we deem ourselves entitled.

The Hindus in this part of India, I am happy to observe, have always been the most loyal subjects of the British Crown, evincing a deep interest in its prosperity and were greatly instrumental in procuring for it, its earliest territorial acquisitions in India. I shall briefly cite a few facts from private records in my possession to verify this assertion.

In 1756, all the Hindu Sirdars and principal personages in Bengal and Behar were extremely disaffected to the Nawab Surajuddowla on account of his tyrannical conduct. Raja Rajbulubh one of the Hindu nobles of the Vydy caste, fled from Moorshedabad and took refuge in Calcutta, whereupon the Nawab issued a Purwannah to Mr Drake, the then Governor of Calcutta, directing him to arrest and send up the Raja to him. On his failing to do so, he received another Purwannah to the effect that the plunder of Calcutta and the expulsion of the English residents therefrom would be the inevitable consequence of his disobeying his orders. To dispel Mr. Drake's fears, occasioned by the Nawab's threat, Raja Rajbulubh assured him that his Sirdars were so dissatisfied with him, that they would not fight against the English. To make this assurance doubly sure, Raja Rajbulubh procured a Persian letter to that effect, addressed to Mr. Drake by the principal Hindu officers of the Nawab, and dispatched it with great secrecy through a Hindu messenger, who requested him to get it interpreted and its answer written by a Hindu and not by a Mussulman. Mr. Drake accordingly dispensed with the assistance of the Mussulman Munshce, Tazuddin, then in the service of the Company, and availed himself of the aid of a Hindu. This Hindu was Maharaja Nubinkissen Bahadoor. The satisfactory manner in which he executed this task procured him a Moonshee-ship and hence he was at that time known by the name of Moonshee Nubinkissen. His subsequent success in the many diplomatic missions and other important services in which he was engaged, gained him the love and esteem of the Government.

Soon after this, Surajuddowla having attacked Calcutta with a large army, caused Mr. Drake and the members of the Council to retire to Madras, enacted the well-known tragedy of the Black Hole, changed the name of Calcutta to that of Alinagore, appointed Raja Manickchand its Governor, and returned to Moorshedabad.

A few months after this, Mr. Drake accompanied by Col. Clive and an army, left Madras, defeated the army of Surajuddowlah, weakened by the desertion of its Sirdars, captured the fortress of Budge-Budge, and took possession of Calcutta in January 1757. This momentous event was hailed with unutterable joy by the Hindus in general, whose descendants have assembled here, and been emboldened to ask of the indulgent British Government, those blessings which have been hitherto withheld from them owing to misrepresentations as to their competency to share them.

Will not those persons who have before the Committee on Indian Affairs, blackened the character of the Hindus so loyal, so faithful, and so devoted to the interests of their rulers, be censured by all impartial men? Do not the least observing of all observers amongst us, see clearly how grossly they have distorted facts?

Sir Charles Wood by proposing to Parliament the renewal of the Indian Government on the old basis, and by neglecting to bestow that attention on the Petitions of the three great Presidencies of India, which the importance of the case required, has acted quite in keeping with that want of sympathy with the miseries of many millions of human beings, which his very name "Wood" implies, to wit "Hardness." He may be aptly compared to firewood which serves to feed the flame of grief, now burning in the bosoms of the countless subjects of the three Presidencies.

He (Sir C. Wood) has said that the advantages derived from the Company's administration during the last 20 years, have predominated over its disadvantages, the former have been stated to be extension of territory, the increase of revenue, and the establishment of educational institutions.

As to the extension of territory it may be observed, that the East India Company has but acted up to their duty by increasing and preserving Her Majesty's dominions and so long as they can keep together a consolidated government, and confer upon half-civilized people the blessings of civilisation, we would pray that her empire may continue to be extended, and that those privileges which a certain class of Her Majesty's British subjects enjoy here as to emoluments and official dignities, may be equally shared with them by Her Majesty's loyal Native subjects.

As to the increase of revenue, it may be said that it follows territorial aggrandisement, as a matter of course. This circumstance, generally speaking, is a source of great gratification to us. But is it fair, is it just, to increase this revenue by oppressing millions of indigent subjects with the resumption of their rent-free lands, which have descended to them from their fathers as their only means of subsistence? Is it consonant with the dictates of humanity? Is it liberal, is it in keeping with the generous and merciful character of the British Government to swell the revenue by a monopoly of the Salt-manufacture whereby myriads of the poorest, nay, half starving subjects of Her most Gracious Majesty

are precluded from scratching the saline earth and boiling it for their culinary purposes and whereby innocent Zemindars, even those residing at an immense distance from their zemindaries, are exorbitantly fined for the above illegal conduct of any of their obscure ryots in their remote zemindaries? * I have heard that of late years, this tax upon innocence has amounted to an enormous extent. Is not this a legalization of one of the worst forms of extortion? Is it not a perversion of the ends of justice to allow no remissions to Zemindars for their derelict lands, while alluvions adjacent to their estates are assessed to increase the revenue? Is it not a violation of the spirit of the law to add a new source of revenue by renewing those demands upon zemindaries which were once for ever included in the perpetual settlement? Is it rational and equitable to enhance the revenue by selling justice by the compulsory use of stamp papers, and by causing copies of judicial proceedings, &c. filed on record and taken out for use or reference, to be written in large characters on these papers; only on one side of it, and with lines wide apart from each other?

Innumerable are the grievances of this nature, which, I hope, will be noticed more fully by those who will bring forward the Resolutions for your consideration.

As to the establishment of educational institutions, I believe steps have been taken in direct opposition to the original object for which educational funds were sanctioned. Two lacs of rupees were allowed by Parliament for the encouragement of the literature and science of this country—fifty thousand for Bombay, fifty thousand for Madras and a hundred thousand for Bengal. Does that knowledge which is now conveyed through the medium of the English constitute the literature and science of this country? This fund has I believe been entirely appropriated to the establishment of English seminaries. Many are the indigenous Sanscrit schools in India conducted at the expense of poor Pundits. But none of them have received any assistance from this fund.

We do not object to the establishment of English schools; let them be multiplied as much as possible. All that we want is, that an endowment should be exclusively applied for the encouragement of Oriental literature and science.

Sir Charles Wood has, in his Indian Bill, enumerated the modifications which the Company's administration is to undergo under the new Charter—but none, scarcely any of them, bear directly on the happiness of the people.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that a petition to Parliament pointing out the more prominent defects of the new scheme should be forthwith adopted and dispatched as early as practicable to England.

* Every Zemindar is fined (500) five hundred rupees for every case of illicit manufacture of Salt by his Ryots.

We should strain every nerve and use all our energies in promoting the welfare of our country. The time for exhibiting this energy has now arrived, and we should not let slip this opportunity without turning it to our best account.

It is our duty to use our best endeavours in a good cause, even though we should fail to attain success.

It is said in the Hitopadesa—

উদেয়াগিনং পুরুষ সিংহ মূপৈতি লক্ষ্মী দৈবেন দেয় মিতি
কাপুরুষা বদন্তি, দৈবং নিহত্য কুরু পৌরুষ মায়া শক্ত্যা যতে
কৃতে যদি ন সিধ্যতি কো হ্যে দোষ, ১—

“Fortune attendeth that lion amongst men who exerteth himself. They are weak men who declare fate the sole cause. Subdue fate and exert human strength to the utmost of your power; and if when pains have been taken, success is not obtained, in whom is the blame?”

Our happiness and misery are now in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, we have therefore no other quarter to submit our grievances to or to seek for redress. The celebrated Persian poet Sadi has said to this effect—

* بشیکه براورم زدستت فریاد *

* هم بش تو از دست تو میخوام داد *

“To whom shall I carry a complaint from your hands; even of yourself. I require justice from your hands.”

The Chairman set down in the midst of loud and repeated cheering.

Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor moved the first Resolution, and spoke in Bengallee as follows :—

After the able and eloquent address which you have just heard from the Chairman, I need scarcely say any thing in support of the first Resolution which I have the honor to introduce to the notice of this great meeting. We should be always loyal and faithful to the Government, but we should lose no opportunity of laying before it our just claims and complaints. You may rest assured, gentlemen, that if we will all unite and persevere, the high authorities to whom we might appeal, will not continue to turn a deaf ear to our complaints. They are willing to listen to us. There can therefore be no harm in petitioning; on the contrary, great good may be expected if we petition in an humble manner and in proper language.

I now beg to submit the first Resolution for your approval.

“That while this meeting considers it the duty as well as interest of the native British subjects of India to remain faithfully attached to the British Government, it is at the same time of opinion that on an occasion like the present, every legitimate and constitutional means ought to be employed for the redress of their grievances.”

The above was seconded by *Rajah Pertaubchunder Sing Bahadur* and carried unanimously.

Rajah Suttochurn Ghosal Bahadur in moving the second Resolution also spoke in Bengallee to the following effect :—

The object of this meeting having been generally explained to you by our respected and worthy Chairman, it is needless for me to dwell upon it. For the attainment of that object, I see gathered together around me a larger assembly than it has ever been my lot to witness, and this leads me to infer that if on former occasions there were matters of such importance as those which call us together to-day, never was their importance so well understood, and appreciated as upon the present occasion; not only are my countrymen beginning to know their true interests but in my humble opinion they are also beginning to adopt the best means for the realization of those interests. Hitherto through groundless diffidence they have depended too much on others, and though they ardently desired to make known their complaints, they have been backward to address the governing authorities through the means of a public meeting. Those feelings of restraint I am happy to observe are on the wane, and it fills my heart with unutterable joy to see how my countrymen are uniting, as it were, with one voice to plead our country's cause.

I entreat you gentlemen not to give heed to the thought that we will plead in vain before the Parliament of Great Britain. If our representations are just and reasonable, they will sooner or later prevail, and I doubt not you will agree with me in thinking that what we have to propose to-day is neither unreasonable nor unjust. I have now the honor to read to you the second Resolution and hope that it will meet with your unanimous approbation.

"That this Meeting having deliberately considered the Ministerial Scheme as developed in the speech delivered by the President of the Board of Control in the House of Commons on 3d June last, is of opinion that that Scheme is not satisfactory, and will greatly disappoint the just and reasonable expectations of the Native Community."

Baboo Ramgopal Ghose seconded this motion, and addressed the meeting in English :—He said he had come prepared to offer some remarks upon several points in the Ministerial Scheme for the Government of India, and on the speech of Sir Charles Wood in support of it in the House of Commons; but he feared, densely crowded as the Hall was, it would be impossible for him to deal with the subject at that length at which it had been his intention to discuss it. A few of the more salient points, however, which appeared to him to disfigure the Ministerial Scheme, it was important he should not pass unnoticed. They all knew that in the Charter Act passed by the Parliament twenty years ago, it was expressly provided that no native of India, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, should, by reason of his creed, color, or birth, be excluded from appointments in the Covenanted Service. They also knew that this provision had in reality been made a dead letter, and that the exclusiveness of the Civil Service has been preserved intact. (Hear,

hear.) To arrive at a just knowledge of the wrongs and wants of India, the House of Commons had appointed a Committee to examine witnesses upon the administration of the country and the condition of its people. The evidence so taken must be admitted to be one-sided; for of the forty-four witnesses examined, only two were natives; and of the remaining forty-two, nearly all were either servants of the existing Government, or in some way or other connected with it. (Hear, hear.) In dealing with this one-sided evidence, the President of the Board of Control had been cautious to select a few morsels which tended to condemn the character of the natives, but studiously to keep out of sight the many proofs, contained in that evidence, of their claim to political advantages from which they were now debarred. (Hear, hear.) Yet biased as this testimony was, and ingeniously construed as it had been to the prejudice of the people of this country, he could clearly have shewn that privileges to which they had an undeniable right, had been most obstinately withheld from them.

The plan proposed by Sir Charles Wood with reference to appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service was this—that, under certain regulations, to be framed by the Board of Control, subject to the approval of Parliament, the admissions to Haileybury should be thrown open to “unlimited competition”—that, with regard to the scientific section of the Indian Army, the admission to Addiscombe should, in like manner, be thrown open to public competition:—and that a similar course should be pursued as to the appointment of Assistant Surgeons. The plain meaning of this was, that the institutions of Haileybury and Addiscombe were to be preserved. To throw them open to unlimited competition would doubtless be to yield an important concession to, and confer a great boon upon the public of England; but so long as they were kept up—so long as they were maintained as the only media through which candidates could enter the Covenanted Service, so long would the whole one hundred and fifty millions of this country be shut out from the advantages to which they opened the way. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) True it might be said that, as the competition was to be “unlimited,” the natives might send their children to England to pass through Haileybury or Addiscombe to qualify them for one or other of the branches of the Service, but was he to be told that with the mere chance of obtaining appointments, natives were to send their children to England, without their families around them, without their friends to guide them, to be left there in the midst of strangers? (Hear, hear.) He would not on the present occasion wait to consider the objection urged by his countrymen to the crossing of the ocean on the score of caste; it would be enough to say that it was impossible for any native parent, or guardian, with any natural or kindly feelings of affection, to trust his child or ward to the care of strangers who could not sympathise with his feelings, and in a clime which was not congenial

to his constitution. But this was not all. A belief prevailed that even if the children of natives were sent to England for education, they would still be excluded from the Covenanted Service; and this belief seemed to him to be confirmed by the intelligence brought out to India by the Steamer which had arrived that morning. He had read it in a newspaper extra only that moment, and found from it that the competition for admission into Haileybury and Addiscombe would be thrown open only to the "natural-born subjects of the Crown." Now, he was not a lawyer, and could not undertake authoritatively to define the meaning of that phrase; but he feared that it meant only those subjects of the Crown who were born in Great Britain. He said this under correction; but if that were the meaning of the expression, there was an end even of the hope of a single Hindoo or Mahomedan family sending their children across the ocean to compete for the prizes of the Covenanted Service. (Loud cries of hear, hear.)

Another feature in Sir C Wood's scheme called for remark. The constitution of the Legislative Council was to be such that native views, native feelings, and native talents, were not to be represented in it at all. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) He did not pretend to say nor had he ever pretended to say, that the natives should have a preponderance of votes in that Council. But he contended that no one could sufficiently understand the customs, sentiments and prejudices of the natives of this country without being a native himself (Hear, hear, hear.) To a foreigner, however intelligent and however observant, this would be the study of a life-time. And yet, the Ministerial Scheme provided in effect that no native of India should be a member of the new Legislative Council. The grounds and reasonings upon which this exclusion was founded, seemed to be various. He was prepared to enter into all of them; but the overwhelming crowd and heat, and the growing darkness would prevent him. He must call attention, however, to one fact. It had been declared by some half-a-dozen witnesses before the Commons' Committee, that the natives of this country were not universally incompetent to hold the highest appointments in India. Sir Erskine Perry, Sir George Clerk, Mr. Malcolm Lewin, were among the number. Not only, however, had these gentlemen borne their testimony to native talent and ability, but even Mr. John Clark Marshman—that veritable "Friend of India" (laughter, and hear, hear) had said that, as far as native talent had been employed in aid of the administration of the country, it had worked most beneficially—(hear, hear,) and that he had known of Moonsiffs passing decisions as good—nothing could be better—as those of the Suddur Judges themselves. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Halliday, again, who contended most obstinately against the appointment of natives to the Legislative Council, still admitted that there were natives as fully qualified as any Englishman to sit in it. His words were—

"I do know persons [meaning natives] who are quite as fit, or nearly so, to sit in the Legislative Council as any Englishman of my acquaintance."

After this, Mr. H. went on to say that, with a very few exceptions, the educated natives of this country broke down after a certain age—that they had the utmost distrust in their own countrymen—that they had the most implicit confidence in the incorruptibility, integrity, and competency of the European Judges;—but that though he himself bore testimony to the character of native judicial officers, the natives as a body, did not do so. (Loud cries of "no—no.") How far this was true, he (Baboo Ramgopal Ghose) would leave it to the Meeting to judge. Mr. Halliday, in illustration of his statement that the natives have no confidence in their own countrymen, gave the following example:—

"I am sorry to say that there is a very strong tendency amongst the natives to regard with unappeasable jealousy, amounting to animosity, any member of their own class risen above themselves, especially among the natives of Bengal, with whom I am most familiar. I will give a recent instance of it, which was very well known in Calcutta at the time I left. Lord Dalhousie took what was considered one of the boldest steps towards the advancement of the natives which had been taken for many years, viz., the careful selection and appointment of one of the very best of them,—a man against whom his fellows could not possibly utter one word of accusation or reproach. He was a Hindu of high caste and high family, who had borne an unimpeachable and unimpeached name in the public service for many years. This man, Lord Dalhousie, very much to the annoyance of a great number of English claimants and particularly to the annoyance of the English bar [cries of "no, no, no," from some English gentlemen present] who were candidates at the same time for the office of which I am about to speak, appointed as stipendiary magistrate of Calcutta. He had on that occasion to sustain, not only the very loudly expressed anger of the English claimants, but the still more loudly expressed annoyance of the natives, and the natives exhibited in so many ways their jealousy and dissatisfaction with this appointment, arising simply out of the fact of this man being placed over their heads, that he repeatedly came to me, and to other friends to complain of the bitterness of his position, and the pain and misery which had been brought upon him by the constant attacks, public and private, and the annoying petty jealousy which he had experienced from his countrymen in consequence of his elevation."

He (Baboo Ramgopal Ghose) was extremely sorry to inform the Meeting that this statement was entirely incorrect. (Cheers.) He did not presume to call motives into question, he wished that others should judge of him with charity—with liberality, and he could have no right to expect that they would do so unless he judged of them in the same spirit. (Loud cries of hear.) He wished it to be clearly understood that he did not impute any improper motive to Mr. Halliday: he believed that Mr. Halliday had heard something about jealousy, and that without wishing to misrepresent he had involuntarily worked up this something, from

step to step, to the statement he had made before the Committee, which was as groundless as it was sweeping. When he first saw the statement in the Blue Book, he knew, from conversations which he had had with Mr. Halliday himself, that it was a mistake; for Mr. Halliday had told him personally something to this effect—"Well, our friend Huruchunder seems to be very thin-skinned. He is making himself very uncomfortable about some newspaper paragraphs which he knows well proceed from a certain quarter only." To this, he (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) had replied—"Oh! this sentiveness will soon wear away; his skin will soon get tougher" (laughter), "and he will then begin to laugh at these attacks." It would be seen from this that when Mr. Halliday had spoken to him (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) about these attacks, he had spoken of them, not as coming from the natives generally, but "from a certain quarter only." (Hear, hear.) Still, not satisfied that he (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) might not have misunderstood Mr. Halliday, and not knowing for certain that Baboo Huruchunder Ghose might not have said unknown to him what was imputed to him, he had thought it fair, and just, and prudent to call upon the Baboo, point out to him the passage referring to him in the Blue Book, and ask him if it was a correct representation of what he had stated. Baboo Huruchunder Ghose's reply was that he very much regretted to say it was not—(loud cries of hear, hear, hear,) and that Mr. Halliday, when he made it, must have been labouring under a mistake. He (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) gave importance to this passage in Mr. Halliday's testimony, because Sir Charles Wood had quoted it, or rather garbled it, in his speech, for if the report in the *Times* was an accurate one, Sir Charles's was a garbled quotation as it differed from Mr. Halliday's words in the Blue Book, (hear, hear)—and he was the more anxious to give this open contradiction to the mis-statement lest, should he (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) or Baboo Huruchunder Ghose happen to die without noticing it, the stigma which it conveyed would adhere to the whole nation. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Now, let the Meeting mark and wonder at the inference which was drawn from Mr. Halliday's statement by the high statesman who is to rule over the destinies of India:—

"That is the very reason for not appointing a native to the office. I am anxious that natives should be employed as extensively as possible in situations for which they are fitted; but it cannot be agreeable to a native to be placed in an employment in which he becomes an object, not of envy, but jealousy, to those around him, who, had they our feelings under such circumstances, would be proud of their countryman's elevation."

The insinuation here was broad that the natives of India would not be proud of the elevation of their countrymen. This was not the fact; for, to speak of the particular case in question, he had heard from the lips of several of the unsuccessful native applicants,

with whom he was acquainted, expressions of the highest satisfaction at the appointment of the successful candidate—their feeling in the case was that of the Spartan—they rejoiced to see one of their countrymen found worthier than they were. (Loud cries of hear, hear, hear.) He stated this at the present Meeting in order that the actual truth might not rest with him and Baboo Huruchunder Ghose alone ; and for this purpose, to strengthen the contradiction, he had written to Baboo Hurrochunder Ghose a letter on the subject, and had received his reply, which, if the Meeting desired it, he would not object to produce. (Loud and repeated cries of “ produce them—produce them.”)

Here then was the letter which he had addressed to Baboo Huruchunder Ghose :—

MY DEAR HURUCHUNDER,—I have read with very great pain the evidence given by Mr. Halliday before the Committee of the House of Commons on the 18th March last. You will see from his answer to question No. 2019, that in his opinion the Natives of Bengal regard the elevation to official position of any member of their own class with unappeasable jealousy amounting to animosity. And in proof of this statement, Mr. Halliday avers that in consequence of your being appointed a stipendiary Magistrate of the Calcutta Police, you had to sustain the loudly expressed annoyance of the Natives, and that their jealousy and disappointment with your appointment were exhibited in so many ways that you went to him repeatedly and to other friends, to complain of the bitterness of your position, and the pain and misery which had been brought upon you by the constant attacks, public and private, and the annoying petty jealousy which you had experienced from your countrymen in consequence of your elevation.

As I have never heard from you or from any of your friends, whether Native or European, that you ever made such a complaint, or that you had any cause to make it, I would beg you to reply to me in writing whether the statement made by Mr. Halliday is correct or otherwise.

Yours &c.,

(Sd.) RAMGOPAUL GHOSE.

Calcutta, 22nd July, 1852.

And now he (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) would submit the reply of the stipendiary Magistrate, the envied man, poor fellow ! (much laughter.)

“ MY DEAR RAMGOPAUL,—I am very sorry to notice Mr. Halliday’s statement, and regret to say that he must have evidently misunderstood me. I never complained of my countrymen generally, for I really had no cause whatever for doing so. When I did speak to him, to you and my other friends of annoyances, I alluded,

not to my countrymen generally or as a body, but to a certain quarter whence I believed for special reasons all those annoyances proceeded.

I remain, yours, &c.,

(Sd.) HURROCHUNDER GHOSE.

July 23, 1853."

It was not necessary for him to say on this point, more than this—that, not only was Mr. Halliday's statement as must now be seen, entirely unfounded, but that the annoyances to which Baboo Hurrochunder Ghose *had* been subjected, originated in a certain contemptible quarter. (Hear, hear, hear.) Ninety-nine of a hundred among those who were near him were aware of this fact. It was not right and proper that, in this place, he should enter into particulars concerning the miserable clique from whom the attacks really emanated; but since from those attacks had originated—however unreasonably—an unjust imputation on the national character—and since Sir Charles Wood had made use of that imputation as a peg upon which to hang a rope for the necks of the children of India, he could not forbear alluding to them in so pointed a manner. (Renewed cheering.)

Were he to stand and speak from that time until day-dawn, he could not exhaust all that might be said in condemnation of the Ministerial Scheme. But the evening was advancing, and other speakers were to follow, he must, therefore, be brief.

He would beg to refer to the important subject of education.

The Earl of Albemarle, Lord Monteagle, and other peers in the Upper House, had expressed the noblest sentiments upon the question. They had contended that, without any reference to ulterior effects—without any reference as to whether improved education would so qualify and strengthen the Natives, as ultimately to supersede the necessity of British rule and British supremacy in the East—the Government of the country were bound to impart to the Natives the highest order of education in their power. (Loud cries of hear.) After the remarks he made about Mr. Halliday, it gave him peculiar pleasure to add that that gentleman fully shared in these dignified and noble sentiments. He had boldly declared "I go the full length of saying that I believe our mission in India is to qualify them (the natives) for governing themselves."

Now he (Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose) argued—whether reasonably or not, let the public of India and of England judge—that the system which proposed to educate the inhabitants of this country in as high a degree as they could be educated, and at the same time to slap the door of exclusion in their faces from the higher prizes of the public service, was an anomaly in itself, and a cruelty to them. (Hear, hear.) It was to impart a propelling impetus to the mind of a nation, and then raise an adamant wall to stay its progress—it was to communicate an upward spring to the energies of a people.

and then hold over them a ponderous weight—a mountain of lead—to crush them down. (Cheers.) Such a system was absurd and inconsistent in the extreme. It would be tantalising the educated youths of this country—it would be trifling with the hopes and aspirations of a nation. Better far to declare openly that India should be governed, not for the benefit of the governed, but for the sole advantage of the governors. Better to do away at once with the freedom of the press, and at one fell swoop abolish all vestiges of any political rights and privileges—prohibit all public meetings, and proclaim through the length and breadth of the land, that the hand that wrote petition be lopped off on the block. But God be thanked that such a course of conduct was utterly impossible in the present day, and under the Government under which the natives had the good fortune to live. Even if educational institutions were not extended and improved, the progress of knowledge must now be irrepressible. With a free press around them, and the growing intercourse of Natives with Europeans, it was impossible to stay the rolling tide of improvement. What then was the obvious policy which Great Britain should adopt towards this empire? Certainly to give to the Natives an enlightened English education. When so educated let them be tried here by the same test as is proposed to be applied to English candidates in England. And if any of the native candidates were found successful, let them no longer be thrust aside from entering the pale of the privileged service. He felt assured that this simple act of justice would entitle Great Britain to the lasting gratitude of a nation, and she would build her supremacy upon a rock guarded by the bulwark of millions of faithful hearts. (Loud and repeated cheers.)

Baboo Joykissen Mukherjee in supporting the second resolution stated as follows :

Sir C. Wood has attacked some of the statements made in the petition sent from Madras, I would leave our Madras brethren to defend their own statements, as I intend to dwell upon defects and anomalies which are of every day occurrence and which materially affect the criminal administration of justice on this side of India. Sir C. lays a great stress upon a statement made by Sir G. Clerke on the age of Indian Judges. He is said to have deposed that the youngest Judge on the Bengal Bench, was of 22 years standing. If Sir C. had known the constitution and practical working of the Indian Judicial system, he would not have spoken so exultingly of the 22 years service. In England the county Magistrates can only punish a man with a few weeks' imprisonment and impose a slight fine. They are obliged to send all other cases to the Courts of Circuit. But here our Mofussil Magistrates with little or no legal training and at the age generally from 22 to 28 years, possess power to sentence a man to 3 years' imprisonment in iron and hard labor and fine to a large amount. This tremendous power they exercise without the assistance of jury or assessors; and are not

at all guided by public opinion, because in the Mofussil the opinion of the native community, is considered nothing. To this Court the commoner, the gentleman and the nobleman are all equally subject. What would be the feeling of an English gentleman or nobleman if he were arrested by the myrmidons of a Police Superintendent, taken to the same officer, who is now metamorphosed into a criminal judge, jury and prosecutor. To add to the strangeness of the scene the said Judge has a very imperfect knowledge of the language, in which the prisoner makes his defence, the witnesses give their evidence and that evidence is taken down by an officer of the Court employed on a salary of 6 or 7 Rs. a month. While the prisoner or his advocate, except a written defence made previous to the examination of witnesses, is seldom allowed to criticise the evidence or to offer a lengthened explanation on the bearings of the case. After such a trial the prisoner is liable to be sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment with labour and irons. Would not a single trial of this kind create a burst of indignation from one end of England to the other, but in this country such cases are of every day occurrence. This is not all, our youthful Magistrates are empowered under Act 50, 1818 to take penal recognizances to *any amount* and to enforce the same. A Magistrate living close to Calcutta had fined a Zemindar under that law the sum of Rupees ten thousand. These young gentlemen come out from England mere boys. In India they move about and live in an artificial state of Society mostly among the members of their own service. They get a handsome salary from the day of landing in Calcutta and being conscious of a rapid rise in the service by virtue of their covenant they generally neglect those means and appliances, which are deemed essential to success in life by the rest of the world. Thus they become necessarily ignorant of the motives and influences which prompt men in different circumstances to act differently. In fact most of them are devoid of that practical experience of the world so essential to a Magistrate to enable him to trace out crime to its real source and to take measures to bring the offenders to punishment. They imbibe a notion from their elders that natives are litigious, vindictive, false and oppressive to each other and act upon those impressions. They are seldom able or inclined to discriminate between the different elements of human passions that are involved in each case. The decisions of our Magistrates are in general the result of *first impressions*. They have no experience either of the European or of the Indian world. In one word they are sadly deficient in the philosophy of the human mind. Thus the cause of truth and justice fails unwittingly. I am far from maintaining that our Magistracy is devoid of talent or good conduct, on the contrary I admit with great pleasure that I have found in that service a large number of talented and good men, zealous in the performance of their duties and willing to benefit the natives. They would do honor to any service or community in the world. But

their usefulness and talent are much neutralized by the vicious system in operation. Some superior and honorable minds try to rise above the system, but after a time being convinced of the inutility of individual exertion they fall back disappointed, fatigued and exhausted. So much, for the age of our Criminal Judges, who dispose of 9-10ths of the Fouzdaree or criminal cases in which the rich, the respectable and the most useful classes of the community are concerned, and who only send up to the Sessions the remaining 10th of the cases in which generally most desperate and lawless characters are connected with dacoities, murder, &c., &c. I should like to see Sir Charles placed under one of these youthful Magistrates with large Zemindaries, Indigo Factories, &c., for a couple of years, and then hear his opinion on the administration of Police and criminal justice in Bengal. Even Mr. Marshman who has evidently a leaning towards the members of the Civil Service, bore his testimony to the inefficiency of the Bengal Magistrates and of the Bengal Police system (questions 3561 and 62.) Now Gentlemen. I will continue with your permission, my observations on the system of Police and criminal justice. What a system it is which permits the removal of half a dozen of such Magistrates as we have within a similar number of years almost in each Zillah! There may be and are exceptions here and there—but look to Midnapore Jessore, Moorsshedabad, the subdivision of Serampore and several other Zillahs and you will be convinced that before an officer is acquainted with the localities of the bad and good characters in one Zillah, he is hurried into another. What a system is it, which allows a single youthful Magistrate with one or two deputies to be the Superintendent of the Police, and criminal judge over large and populous districts of 80 or 100 square miles each containing, generally a million of population, with no mounted Police and *hardly any roads*? He has for a guard 10 or 12 Burkundases. Suppose a dacoity takes place near the Police Magistrate's residence, can he face it with such a paltry Police force? Dacoities, and very heavy ones too, did take place a few hundred yards distance from the residence of the Magistrates of Howrah, Serampore and Hooghly respectively, not long ago, what did those sturdy Anglo-Saxons do at the time of the occurrence? Why, they thought that discretion was the better part of valor and remained quiescent and comfortable in their warm beds, while we poor fellows have the reputation of being called cowards by race. They of course sent a few Burkundases, Jemadars &c., but who also like their masters moralized and remained at a distance. The dacoits leisurely sacked the houses and merrily went away with their booty. I'm sure, in the language of Messrs. Halliday and Marshman the cowardly natives alone were not concerned, but what can our Magistrates do without means? Give them adequate means and they will do what the Magistrates in other countries achieve. Many of our Magistrates cannot move 2 miles into the interior of their districts in the rainy

season unless they chooses to wade through mud and water sometimes waist and sometimes knee-deep. Is such a circumstance at all favourable to induce the Chief Police Officer to inspect his district or to surprise the robbers or breakers of the peace? I will leave my other friends to speak on the state of the Grand Trunk Road, which Sir C. Wood almost in a poetical vein describes to be as smooth 'as a bowling green.' I will simply observe that that road is called in this country the great military road. I wonder if there had been no troops or military stores to transport, such a road as this would ever have been constructed. The staging Bungalows stated by Sir Charles were constructed chiefly for the accommodation of *European* public officers passing on that road. The native travellers, merchants or cattle, have not a shed built to put their heads in. On the contrary the surais or public inns built all along the road during former reigns have been all allowed to go to decay and in many places they cannot now be traced. But my business is with interior roads. I have stated above that even Police Officers cannot move from place to place without inconvenience. You may judge then the state of internal commerce for want of roads or bridges. Many noble roads the remains of which are still perceptible, constructed before the Company's rules, are allowed to be turned into rice fields. It is not an unusual sight in this country to see large substantial bridges standing in rice fields, the roads on each side of which have been long washed away. The few internal roads that one sees here and there, have been chiefly constructed by the much abused Zemindars. Noble rivers, formerly navigable and available for irrigation, as well as outlets of surplus water from the surrounding country into still larger, rivers are allowed to be choked or silted up. We have lost 5 or 6 rivers of this description in the districts of Hooghly and Burdwan alone. But I am led astray from the main point, viz. the police. Well gentlemen I have described the state of the police of the suddur station, I will now give you a few broad facts regarding the working of the interior police. A Darogah is an officer of Police with a certain amount of judicial powers, on a salary of 50 Rs. per month, a mohurrir or clerk on a salary of 7 Rs., 1 Jemadar on 8 Rs., and 6 Burkundases at 4 Rs. each, compose the establishment of a Mofussil Police Sub-division *having jurisdiction generally over 100 square miles.* The Principal officer, the Darogah, is frequently selected at random, or without much regard to his prior education: he is required to keep the peace within his Thannah, to catch thieves, to put down affrays, and to hold investigations and take depositions of witnesses in cases of affrays murders, dacoities, &c. He has authority to arrest any man be he patrician or plebian, to search any person's house and to send over to the Magistrate's Kucherry, generally at a distance of 30 or 40 miles, any number of persons on a charge of misdemeanour or felony or even as witnesses. When 2 or 3 occurrences take place, which is very often the case, or when the

Darogah is sick, absent or suspended, contingencies not of unusual occurrence, his clerk the 7 Rupee man performs all these duties and exercises all the powers. These officers are fined, suspended, degraded and turned out frequently almost without a trial. Possessing tremendous powers and many opportunities of doing mischief with such an uncertain tenure of office and scanty emoluments as well as such distant and defective control, is it unnatural that they should make "hay while the sun shines" or that their general conduct should be such as to cause the name of Policeman to become synonymous with "Public Plunderer." Is it to be wondered that with such a Police and Criminal Judges the people should take the law into their own hands or that might should prevail over right? When affrays, and robberies take place, a Darogah has but to open the palms of his hand and hundreds of rupees will be thrown into it by either parties, or when a house is searched or a threat is held out to that effect how many hundreds of rupees may not be got by a Police Officer or when Paddy, Indigo, Sugar-cane or other produce worth hundreds and thousands of Rupees is to be removed from a disputed field or by a questionable owner, what money will not be paid to gain the good graces of the Darogah, not because the people are sick of their money and fond of breaking each others heads in the bargain, but because the legal remedy is tardy, uncertain and unsatisfactory. If a person intends to abide by law, he is very soon cured of his egregious folly. Suppose a Zemindar, or a Planter is preparing or assembling clubmen to attack his neighbour's factory, or to carry away the produce of many hundred acres, the threatened party gives early notice to the Magistrate, who issues usually an order on the Darogah to keep the peace or summon the other party to explain. The Darogah when opposed to 500 chosen clubmen to keep the peace with his half a-dozen *hirkundauzes* and hundred of rupees glittering before his eyes! You will say why does not the Magistrate come out himself, or send his deputy and settle the subject of dispute at once, because one as well as the other is bound down to the Sudder station *with paperwork*. He has to hear a dozen or two of petitions daily, to answer a dozen official letters and render explanation to as many departments, to look after the jails, the roads and the ferries, as well as to hear and pass orders on some dozens of reports from a dozen Darogahs, and in many cases the European officers feel their own incompetency to conduct such enquiries in person.

The union of the offices of a Superintendent of Police, and criminal Judge in the same person is a monstrous evil in our system. The criminal Judge *i. e.*, the Magistrate, can very seldom divest himself of the bias he has had against the prisoners at his bar while the proceedings were in transit from a Police officer's report to a criminal indictment. On this account the public always looks with suspicion on court decisions passed under such anomalous circumstances. Mr. Trevor, the present Legal Remembrancer, wrote to the Court

of Nizamut, in April 1845 on this subject as forcibly as his subordinate position to the Court, would allow him to do.

"It may perhaps be asserted generally that in all systems, denying the privilege of appeal, there should be on the part of the Judges considerable legal attainments conjoined with great knowledge of human nature in general, and especially of the character of the people amongst whom they have to administer justice, and secondly the absence of every official influence likely to cause disturbance or fluctuation in the mind of the Judicial authority.

"It is further submitted, that both the conditions above mentioned should be realized together, before the finality of the orders of a Court of first instance can work out other results than justice; the absence of influences, if unattended with the legal knowledge will not save a judge from committing errors of law, whereas the highest legal acquirements if accompanied by influences disturbing the judgment, will be no safeguard against the commission of errors in matters of fact.

"I do not presume to say, whether the first condition is realized in the present state of things or not; I may venture to assert that the second is not; the union in the same person of the offices of thief catcher and thief trier, officers requiring very different habits of mind, gives a bias to the judgment of the magistrate unfavorable to the persons apprehended through the instrumentality of his own Police, when on their trial; it is not necessary that the magistrates should be aware of the bias; it is not however the less real or less prejudicial to justice by reason of this unconsciousness."

Many others have before and after Mr. Trevor brought the subject to the notice of government, but to no effect. The reiterated complaints of the public are met by *heaping despotic powers into the hands of Magistrates*. See Act 5 of 1848, commonly called the Dampier Act. The Indigo Planters clamour for redress, they are told that they have added to the boldness and energy of Anglo Saxons the villany of natives. The Zemindars cry out for redress, they are told that they are no better than fools and villains for they *oppress their own Ryots and depopulate their own estates*. When the people grumble they are called cowardly, timid, litigious and Gods only know how many other things by the partizans of Government. It seems very strange that the accession of virtue, valor, and intellect for the last 15 years should have been all on the side of Government officials and a corresponding ratio of decrease of those valuable qualities exclusively on the side of the people. For in 1838 thus spoke the members of the Police Committee composed of some of the most eminent members of the Civil service. In speaking of the improvements urgently required in the Police they observed.

Para. 4. "That urgency is admitted on all hands, but it arises more from the extreme unpopularity of our system and the grievous oppression connected with its operation than from any increased disposition to crime on the part of the community at large."

They again deliberately record in para. 5.

"The defects in question pervade every grade of the establishment. The outline of the system is perhaps as good, as, with the materials at hand to work with, could have been devised, but for want of proper organization it does not work as it ought to do. The magistrates are overwhelmed. The Darogahs and their subordinate officers are corrupt, the village watchmen are poor, degraded and often worse than useless, and the community at large oppressed and inconvenienced in various ways, are not only disinclined to afford aid to the Police, but in most cases, had rather submit quietly to be robbed, than apply to the Police officers for assistance to apprehend the thieves, or to recover the stolen property."

Mr. Halliday now so ready to turn the scale against the people of India deliberately recorded in 1833, that "we seem to be all agreed that the present state of Police is nearly as bad as Police can be." Since that time the appointment of a few uncovenanted Magistrates and a small increase in the salary of the Darogahs, surely cannot have wrought such a wonderful change in the opinions of an officer of Mr. Halliday's talent and standing. Be that as it may we distinctly and deliberately and without fear of contradiction reiterate the assertion then made that the Police and criminal justice in this country is "still as bad as they can be," that a wicked and powerful person, be he Planter, Zemindar, or Ryot can and does plunder whole villages in broad daylight and carry away crops of hundred of acres of land prepared by the "sweat of the brow" in defiance and not unfrequently by the connivance of Police Officers, that dacoities, burglaries and thefts, and bloody affrays are on the increase. I have been at some pains to collect information and you will be astounded, gentlemen to hear that *within a single month there have been 25 dacoities and 500 burglaries and thefts in the 4th division of the Hooghly district alone*. That most of the offenders go unpunished and property once lost seldom comes back to its rightful owner. I can easily multiply instances, but it is unnecessary to waste more time as the numerous and respectable audience before me testify by their assent to the truth of my statement. I also maintain that the removal of these evils is not difficult, much less an impossibility. Give us magistrates of mature age and judgment. Separate the Police from the Judicial, appoint respectable and responsible officers on adequate salaries, and place them at convenient distances in the Mofussil. Increase the staff and emoluments of the subordinate Police Officers, and leave the villages watch in the hands of the village communities under a suitable municipal Act. Construct and repair the internal roads and bridges. These changes involve a considerable expenditure of money. Government must holdly come forward and devote a few lakhs of rupees to this object out of the 30 millions sterling of revenue they derive from India. No patch work or despotie legislation will do. A bold step or none

I hope I shall be allowed to make some observations on a few other points. Both Messrs. Halliday and Marshman have stated in their evidence that the inefficiency of the Police in the Lower Provinces may in a great measure be attributed to the character of the people of Bengal and that crime and oppression are comparatively less in the North West Provinces. Not having the Police statistics of the Agra Presidency at hand to consult, I instituted a comparison of criminal offences of all descriptions committed in six of the lower districts, with an equal number of those in Behar during 1817 and 1848 as detailed in the annual Police reports submitted to Government by Mr. Dampier, the Superintendent of Police, and found that down here we had an advantage of several hundred cases over Behar. This official statement at once confutes the erroneous assertions made by both these gentlemen, for the people of Behar in point of strength and courage yield to no other parts of Hindoostan: an increased ratio of crime in that province completely destroys the inference drawn from the physical strength doctrine. As long as robbers, thieves, peace breakers and extortioners are composed chiefly of Bengalees it is merely an attempt to shift the blame from the right quarter by saying that timidity of the people has had anything to do with the present discreditable state of the Police,

I see that Mr. Halliday is still very sore (evidence Nos. 1896 and 1911) in consequence of the opposition the British Indian Association, offered to his favorite scheme of saddling the Zemindars by indirect legislation with the maintenance of the whole of the village watch in the Lower Provinces, and converting them from being the servants of the village communities, into a police force. Notwithstanding the full and complete exposure made in the petition of the Association Mr. Halliday still maintains, or seems to maintain that the inefficiency of the police is partly attributable to the wretched state of the village watch, that the Zemindars "resist most strongly any attempt made to put them on a better footing, because it will cause them, they think, additional expense." Now Mr. Halliday cannot be ignorant that the village watch is a remnant of the ancient village municipal institutions. That they (the Chowkedars) have much deteriorated since they were made subservient to the orders of the Police Darogahs by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. They are now chiefly employed in attending the Darogahs, carrying the loads of Police officers and Zemindars' Gomastahs,—duties quite foreign to those for which they were originally entertained. The great object of appointing them was to look after the cornfields and fruit trees of the Ryots and to keep in order stray cattle. When the ryots found that their Chowkedars' services were coolly appropriated by others, they gradually became indifferent, and withheld the regular maintenance of the Chowkedars. Those Zemindars, who had voluntarily given Chaukran lands whenever they found the poverty of the Ryots demanded such a concession,

have since resumed them. Thus the village watch once the pride of village communities, is now in the "last stage of decay." The chowkeedars composing the village watch, without regular pay, self respect, and most of all from a confounded multiplicity or rather an uncertainty of masters have degenerated in many places into thieves, and burglars. When the institution was in its vigor the Landholders had no other interference, but the nomination of Chowkeedars; they nominated them not in the capacity of Landholders, but as heads of village communities, and were in no way responsible for their maintenance. Any voluntary assistance afforded by them to the Ryots on this head in particular places, under peculiar circumstances, cannot be construed by Government into a liability of the Landholders. The body of the Ryots never claimed such immunities. All that they demand is to restore to them the institution in its pristine state, withdraw the interference of the Police and they will cheerfully maintain it. But such a straightforward measure would not suit the framers of the proposed Act, their aim was to annihilate the last vestige of the municipal institution, and to incorporate the village watch with the general Police of the country. The Zemindars resisted this innovation and very *unseasonably* pointed out that, as Government was drawing from the country nearly 30 lakhs of Rupees per annum, under one head or another, for the support of the Police and laying out only *seven lakhs* upon the present Police establishment, it was nothing but fair that a portion of the large surplus should be applied to strengthening and improving the general Police of the country, I have entered into this explanation to prove that in the evidence given before the Commons' Committee, both sides of the question have not been stated, and to point out prominently that neither the Zemindars nor the village communities share in any degree the responsibility of the present and past disreputable state of the Provincial Police of the country.

Now gentlemen, I hope I have succeeded in showing what I believe most of you know by sad experience that our police is not exactly the thing that has been described by Sir C. Wood. While there is such an insecurity of property within doors, bolts and bars, it is not to be supposed that "parties of wearied merchants are spending the night all along the road under the canopy of heaven. Losses by robbery" *nil, &c.*" I have accidentally touched on the state of roads and inns, I will now, with your permission, speak a few words on public works generally. Sir Charles would make the people of England believe that during the last 5 years the Local Government has expended £400,000 in works of public importance. Though we have had no access to the accounts upon which this statement was based, yet we have eyes and ears, we can see and hear; by these almost unrefutable tests I find no public works in Bengal of any magnitude executed within that period which the Government was not bound to construct, either for the transport of troops or under contract with Zemindars or for keeping up state

buildings. Works undertaken purely for internal commerce or the commerce of the people '*nil*.' The British Government might as well exultingly point out to the people of England when they clamoured for internal roads, bridges, or *sarais* (*inns*) for the protection of travellers, that Government has laid out a million of money for a new Military Barrack in Kingston. I will take the last of Sir Charles's latest 5 years, (most favorable to Government) which fortunately corresponds with 1851 to 1852, an abstract account of which has lately been laid before Parliament. £80,800 is said to have been expended in Bengal during that year. Now gentlemen you will be surprised to learn that of this sum nearly £75,000 has been absorbed in the repairs and construction of the great military road, embankments on the banks of rivers, (under special contract with Zemindars and for which a separate item of revenue is exacted from them) and public buildings, such as Court houses, Post offices, &c. and only about £5,000 or £6,000 laid out in what may be called purely for the benefit of the people. Government laying out £5,000 a year for the sole benefit of the people of Bengal, who contribute a gross revenue of £10,000,000 per annum ! Listen gentlemen, and tremble, I will give you another fact, two of the Zemindars, those great curses of the country, had built over the Surswatty and Coontce rivers at Sat-Gong and Mugra on the Grand Trunk Road two splendid bridges, both of them were destroyed during heavy floods some 7 or 8 years ago. Government ferries were immediately established at both these places, and are now yielding to government 8 or 9,000 Rs. a year if not more, yet we find no signs for rebuilding those bridges to the great inconvenience and loss of the community. The general ferry or municipal fund committee of the district to which these two ferries would properly belong, have been told not to cast their evil eyes in that direction. I can multiply instances, but I fear I have already tired your patience. I will crave your indulgence to listen to me on two other points, which I will state in as few words as I can. The Abkaree system of Government is sapping gradually, but surely, the foundation of whatever little morality we are allowed to possess, as well as the peace and the wealth of the community. The late British India Society, the Bombay Temperance Society, the Missionaries, the Public Press and large bodies of people have from time to time remonstrated against such proceedings, but in vain. I will leave this subject after quoting a few passages from a petition lately presented to a public officer by a large village community not far from Calcutta, in which the evils of the system are briefly, but clearly stated, and which may be said, without exaggeration, to represent the feelings and statements of the whole of Bengal :—

"That your petitioners believe that these shops have had the most baneful effects on the morals of the people of this village, and regret to observe that a great number of the young men who prior to the existence of the above shops were averse to intemperance, have now decidedly acquired bad habits.

"That your petitioners with due deference beg to remark that the deceptive argument so often brought forward, that these shops are established to meet the wants of the people, should hold good, were they opened on their application or in compliance with wishes of the village community, but the fact is too well known to require any proof that these shops are forcibly opened, without the consent of the people and often against their remonstrances.

"That authorizing a person to manufacture and sell liquor by paying a certain duty, is one thing, and the forced establishment of retail shops in the most tempting places under the direct authority of Government is another. Your petitioners feel confident that were the innumerable evils resulting from the establishment of such debasing shops, and the horror with which their influence on the habits of the people is viewed both by the Hindoo and the Mahomedan population, known to Government to the fullest extent, an immediate change would be the consequence, because they can never believe that it is the intention of Government to deteriorate the morals of its subjects by persevering in a system, which yields comparatively a little more revenue than the less objectionable mode observed in England and other civilized countries. For if the argument stated in the preceding para. should justify the establishment of deleterious liquor and drug shops all over the country, it would equally hold good in respect to the establishment and support of gambling shops under the authority of Government. But the paternal care, with which the British Government is known to watch over the interests of its subjects, induces your petitioners to hope that the evils of the Abkaree system, when properly brought to light, will be remedied, as those of gambling and similar vices have been.

"That your petitioners beg to urge that irregular habits of living bring on improvident expenses, to meet which, people are not unfrequently led to the perpetration of crimes, which had the temptations that are so abundantly thrown in their way by public houses, not existed, would undoubtedly have never been resorted to."

Now, gentlemen, on the legal equality of its subjects with the British Indian Government, it has been broadly stated both by Messrs. Halliday and Marshman, that nothing was more difficult than to get decisions in favour of the Government. (Question 3551.) I can only say from dear bought experience that such is not the case in India. That Government long ago took away from the jurisdiction of the regular Civil Courts of the country the two most important classes of cases; 1st, those affecting the amount of public Revenue, and 2ndly all suits for the resumption of rent-free tenures and vested the Board of Revenue with the decision of the former and created a species of Courts (Regulation 2 of 1819, and 3 of 1828) composed of the Revenue Officers of Government for the trial of the latter. Without imputing any motive to Government, the mere creation of these Special Courts for the trial of the largest and most important class of state cases is a cause of just complaint on the part of the people. Revenue officers were not Judges and prosecutors; their credit if not their prospects depended upon the successful issue of those cases. In suits between private parties when a person brings a suit against another for the possession of land, or

for fixing the rent of lands, the plaintiff is obliged not only to state the name and residence of the actual occupants, but also to specify the boundaries of every parcel of land involved in the suits. Without these preliminaries, the case would be immediately non-suited. But in Government suits these ugly rules are not taken into any account. The registers, otherwise called *taidads*, of rent-free lands were filed by individuals into the Collector's offices *about 50 years ago* without any enquiry at the time, and without inserting the boundaries of a single parcel of land, a large number of which have been subsequently proved to be false. The Collectors made these *taidads* the basis of Government suits. Notices were issued to the individuals therein named, when most of them were dead or the lands had changed hands several times. These notices were considered legally sufficient as calling upon the present occupants to defend their interests, and in failure thereof, hundreds of decisions were passed *daily* decreeing these lands to Government. Upon such decisions the present occupants most of them, had no notice either of the institution, progress, or the decision, were deprived of their rent-free rights and made to pay Government. But this is not all. Where lands never existed and fictitious *taidads* were filed merely for deception, spies were employed to search out the lands with the prospect of getting a settlement upon half jumma. These interested parties of course pointed out the Zemindars and their people's lands, and they were unscrupulously seized. The Zemindars, Talookdars and others groaned, and complained, in most instances unsuccessfully. By this equitable process the Rajah of Burdwan has been eased of several thousands of acres of lands, myself nearly a thousand and many others have shared a similar fate, though we are already paying revenue to Government for those very lands under the permanent settlement. The proceedings, openly taken, a stranger would characterize as highly improper, but the result was brought about very ingenuously. Our lands were seized and the *onus probandi* was thrown upon us, instead of Government, as the party seizing the lands of actual proprietors. Call you this Mr. Marshman equality in the eye of the law? It has also been stated in answer to questions Nos. 3520 and 21 that there is no great inducement in the way of emolument to render the Civil Servant more anxious to be employed in the Revenue than in the Judicial Department in Bengal. I will meet this assertion by mentioning the case of a certain Judge in the Hooghly district. After his advent there a few months, he, by his equitable decisions, no less than by his courteous conduct, became a favourite with all classes of the people—he was suddenly removed to another district to weigh and pack Opium, because forsooth the salary of the latter appointment was more to the tune of 1,000 Rs. per month, and an acting Judge was thrust upon us, who had to learn his business at our expense. This is not a solitary instance—others may easily be quoted, but it is already too late. I must conclude with a pithy remark of the late D. C. Smyth, a Judge of the

Suddur, that the judicial branch will never be improved as long as we get only the "refuse" of the Revenue Department.

Baboo Hurrochunder Dutt then rose and said :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—It is with diffidence and misgivings that I rise to address this Meeting. Here are assembled the representatives of thirty or forty millions of the subjects of the British Crown. (Cheers) Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees, forgetting the differences of their creed, have joined in the common cause of pleading for their rights and privileges before the Imperial Parliament of Britain. Around me I see the elders and the *elite* of the land, many a head silvered by time, and many a man the best and brightest portions of whose life has been spent in laboring for the welfare of his country and his species. A sense of my own littleness in so august an assembly humiliates me, and occasions this diffidence.

Yet, am I not the less proud of the cause which has called us together. It is a good cause and a great cause. It is a cause which aims at our intellectual, moral and political advancement, and to further which none of my countrymen will, I trust, be backward. It is a cause with which every man that has the least spark of philanthropy in his breast shall cordially sympathise and co-operate. (Cheers.) It is a cause which God shall help and prosper.

The proposition which I am about to lay before you, will, I have no doubt, meet with your approbation. It is for a vote of thanks to Sir George Clerk, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Edward Ryan, Messrs. Sullivan, Cameron, Bright and Phillimore and all those Christian gentlemen who have exerted themselves so nobly and so earnestly on behalf of the natives of India at this momentous crisis. (Loud and vehement cheering.) Although these exertions, kind and generous in themselves, have yet to be crowned with success, yet should we be the less thankful for them? *They* have done their best to help us, let us thank them for that, and now *do our* best to help ourselves. (Cheers.) We have waited patiently much too long. Bengal, it is true, is in a better condition than many an American slave colony. True it is, that the Bengalee is never sold by public auction, nor made over to a creditor in repayment of a loan as poor Uncle Tom was, nor hunted down from place to place by a hard master like the fugitive George Harris, but still of what use are his talents to him? (Vehement cheering.) In official employment the Anglo-Saxon keeps up the same distinctions of caste against which as an institution of Hinduism, he declaims so violently. That the Bengalee is up to all kinds of civil duties, and that his integrity has been subjected to all kinds of tests, has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, has been tried in the furnace and found true, can hardly now be denied even by our enemies. It is therefore quite unnecessary to discuss at a public meeting like this, whether any particular officer has given satisfaction to the public or not. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) Were it necessary we could produce irrefragable

ble arguments and testimony to prove that the educated Bengalee is not very much inferior to the ordinary run of educated gentlemen in England, and that native agency in every department of public business is not only useful but absolutely necessary. But this would be a work of supererogation. It is too well known. Shall the conquerors of this land then, the first nation in the world in arts as well as in arms, in generosity as in spirit, merely because -

“ They find their fellows guilty of a skin
Not colored like their own,”

deny them their just rights, and refuse to listen to their voice in the framing of laws, and refuse to allow them a share in the general administration of the Government? No, gentlemen, this cannot be. It is inconsistent with their fair name. Before the Commons of Great Britain our case has not been sufficiently pleaded. Let us set about the work anew. It is not now too late. Let us not be imputing motives to one man and speaking ill of another to display our independence, for with such speaking the majority of the Meeting will not make common cause. They will be supported only by their minions and dependants. (Vehement cheering.) We have friends both here and in England. Let us strike, as the saying goes, while the iron is hot. Is it not possible to send two or three well-informed representatives from amongst us to explain our grievances? The respected President of the *Dharma Saba* [who now occupies the chair,] will probably be able to point out texts from the *Shastras* permitting Hindus to cross the *Kalapanee*. (Cheers.) Or if no such texts can be found, are there none present willing to sacrifice their caste for the lasting welfare of their country? It is a small sacrifice compared with the great good they will bring about. If this be not feasible, cannot a second petition “more potent than the first,” but couched in as becoming and respectful language, be immediately prepared and submitted to the Parliament? Act we must, in whatever way that may be. Up and be doing then, countrymen! Many golden opportunities have ye missed; but miss not this. Shake off your lethargy ye millionaires, ye Zemindars, ye princely merchants, and even ye the humble servants of Government, and plead for your country. Remember that there is a tide in the affairs of a people just as there is a tide in the affairs of men which “taken at the flood will lead on to fortune.” Think, that if you avail not yourselves of the passing moments, every subsequent attempt at reform both social and political may prove abortive or injurious. To the Government we are of course thankful for what has been done, but much still remains undone. The signs of the times are not altogether unfavorable. Let us try with all our might and strength, and even if we fail we shall have the satisfaction of having done our duty.

Although the proposition contained in the above speech was deemed a most proper one, it was thought that in this meeting it

was out of place and could not be entertained, as it had been called especially for the purpose of considering the ministerial scheme of the future Government of India.

Baboo Penry Chand Mittra moved the third Resolution, which was as follows :

" That while this Meeting acknowledges with thankfulness that some improvements have been introduced into his scheme by the President of the Board of Control, it deeply laments to notice, more especially among other defects, the absence of any provision for the extension of public works, the admission of even a single native into the Legislative Council, and the virtual exclusion of the educated natives from the Civil Service by the continuance of the Haileybury College as the exclusive medium of admission into that service."

In doing so, he said.—After the able and eloquent speech of his friend Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose, it was unnecessary on his part to enter into the subjects on which he Baboo Ram Gopaul had expatiated. He thought it, however, right to state that the evidence given by the witnesses before the Parliamentary Committees on the subject of the admission of natives into the Legislative Council was rather of a conflicting nature. Lord Ellenborough, Lord Elphinstone, and Sir Herbert Maddock had recommended the appointment of a consultative body of Hindus and Mussulmans. Mr. H. T. Prinsep had expressed his peculiar views on the subject. Mr. D. Hill and Mr. J. S. Mill were of opinion that the time had not arrived for entrusting legislation to natives. Mr. Cameron was friendly to the measure, and Messrs. Halliday and Marshman were opposed to it. Mr. Halliday's objection might be reduced to two heads, viz., the jealousy of the natives in consequence of the elevation of their countrymen to official situations, and the community being too divided to be fairly represented.

With respect to the first objection, which was grounded upon the alleged statement of the native Magistrate of Calcutta made before him, the reply of the Magistrate himself to Baboo Ram Gopaul's letter, just read, fully contradicted what Mr. Halliday had stated before the Committee. The instance quoted by Mr. Halliday to illustrate the jealousy of the natives when their countrymen were elevated to high posts, fell to the ground. He thought he could give an instance of the natives feeling joyous at the elevation of their countrymen. When the Act for the appointment of elective commissioners was originally passed, he remembered having attended several private meetings of native gentlemen, held in different places and at different times, and while they were anxious that the system of election should work well, there was throughout a strong feeling of satisfaction in consequence of the community having had to return four persons of their body as elective commissioners. Was not this fact a *positive proof* against Mr. Halliday's statement ?

As regarded the second objection, viz., that the community was too divided to be represented, he would ask what country there was under the sun where the case was otherwise? Did not England

and France contain people of all classes, sects, and denominations ! Were there not Christians and Jews, Baptists, Methodists and Quakers, Catholics and Protestants, Dissenters, Churchmen, and hundreds of other classes in England ? Was the community in India remarkably divided in opinion ?—and if so, did it not therefore rather demonstrate the necessity of admitting native members into than excluding them from the Legislative Council ? He would ask who but a native could know and report the sentiments of the community correctly ? (Loud cheers.) There was no community of feeling between the Europeans and the Natives, and he maintained that it was utterly impossible for the former to know the thoughts and feelings of the latter. He mentioned this only as a matter of fact, and he was borne out in this remark by such high authorities as Sir Thomas Munro and the Hon. F. J. Shore.

With respect to the fitness of the natives for admission into the Legislative Council, Baboo Ram Gopaul had read to the Meeting the favourable opinion of Mr. Halliday. He (the speaker) would now request their attention to the opinion of Sir Herbert Maddock. Sir Herbert Maddock said : “ I am certain that, as far as regarded the community of Calcutta, there were numbers of exceedingly highly educated and well informed persons of rank and influence who were admirably calculated to be selected to perform a duty of that kind.” Mr. Halliday admitted that “ the natives exercise considerable influence over legislation ;” that the Members of the Council do not consult the natives directly, but through the subordinate officers ; that “ it is better to obtain information at first hand than at second hand,” and yet he would not have any natives on the Legislative Council ! (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Marshman’s objection as to the natives having no confidence in each other was unfounded. It was well known that native Principal Sudder Ameeris decide singly, suits involving sums without limit ; and do they not enjoy the confidence of the people ? What cause for distrust could a native councillor, who was one of a body of ten or fourteen persons, give to his countrymen ? The Legislative Council of Ceylon was composed of a certain number of non-officials, one of whom was now a Ceylonese, and the House of Assembly at Jamaica was composed of about a dozen “ colored men.” Government officers in their evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Ceylon had testified to the fitness of the Ceylonese as councillors. And while the competency of the Hindus was not doubted, and the utility of their assistance in the Legislative Council was maintained, what could be the reasons for not constituting it on a more liberal basis ?

He was desirous of entering on other points embraced in the resolution ; but as it was almost dark, he would be very brief.

There was one point which he wished particularly to bring to their notice. Most of the witnesses in their evidence before the Parliamentary Committee had stated that the people of this country

had more confidence in the integrity of the European Judges and less in that of the Native Judges. This appeared to him incorrect when he read the evidence. He thought it, however, to be the best course in consultation with certain friends, to ascertain the opinions of the pleaders of the Sudder Court, as they were, from their most extensive and varied intercourse with suitors and their agents all over Bengal, most qualified to enlighten any one on the subject. In their reply (signed by fifteen respectable pleaders) to the letter of Rajah Suttochurn Ghosal Bahadour and other gentlemen, they stated that "we have not the least hesitation in declaring that the people of this presidency have generally confidence in the integrity of the native judicial officers as a body." Was not this declaration a sufficient answer to the statement in question? He trusted that this most numerous and respectable Meeting would also emphatically repudiate the imputation cast on the native Judges who, by the work done, appear to be superior to the covenanted officers, and to whose efficiency Mr. Bird, Sir Erskine Perry, and others had borne the highest testimony.

The policy of the British Government with respect to the natives of India ought to be the policy of reason and justice as had been over and over declared. The continuance of the Haileybury College would virtually exclude natives from admission into the Civil Service. Justice and the interests of this country required that all candidates should be placed on an equal footing. The words of Sir T. Munro should also be remembered:—"Every time that a native is raised to a higher office than had been before filled by any of his countrymen, a new impulse will be given to the noble establishment. * * * But this improvement will take place in a much higher degree when the new office is one of a high and independent nature like that of a Judge." Sir Thomas Munro had enunciated an important truth. The more the human mind was fettered, the more it was hampered, the more ignoble and degraded it became. Give it full scope, and it would be more and more expanded. Was it not the relaxation of the restrictive policy that had brought about the present improvement in the administration of this country; and was it now to be said that the total annihilation of the protective system would be productive of evil? Impossible! And yet the British Government appeared to be lukewarm in the appreciation of this striking truth.

The Revd. K. M. Banerjee seconded the Resolution moved by the above speaker, and spoke in support of it to the following effect:—

This resolution, he said, was *eucharistic* as well as *querulous*. It called upon the Meeting to express thankfulness for the improvements introduced into the new measure for the Government of India, while it also complained of the important things left unprovided for. He hoped both parts of the Resolution would be received by the Meeting with equal cordiality—that the world might know that the native community, officially convened by the Sheriff, had met in

larger numbers than had ever before congregated for any purpose, not for mere declamation and clamour, but for calmly and seriously deliberating on their duty at the present crisis—that followers of the Vedas, the Koran, and the Bible, to say nothing of other opinions, though disagreeing in religious sentiment, were sufficiently alive to the common interests of their country and their race, and entertained sufficient respect for the Parliament and Her Majesty's Ministers, not to suppress in sullen silence what they felt on the occasion ; and that while they were ready to give expression to regrets at the omissions of the new Government Bill, they were also ready, first and foremost, to express their thanks for the excellencies which it contained. The Meeting would be able to appreciate the improvements in Sir Charles Wood's measure the better, if it remembered that they were for the most part what had been suggested and recommended in the petition of the *Bengal British India Association*. He (the Reverend K. M. Banerjee) here felt himself bound in candour to make a confession. The petition to which he had just alluded was one to which he was at first very much opposed. He did not sign it. He could not have signed it. It contained a clause which breathed a spirit of intolerance against his faith which he could never sanction. But there were other parts in it which might be adopted in a prayer to parliament with great credit as far as the subscribers, and profit as far as the country was concerned. But the objection he felt to the religious intolerance clause prevented his giving to those parts of the document the impartial consideration which they justly demanded. He would not hesitate to acknowledge that he looked at them perhaps with a prejudiced eye. He had in consequence of that, spoken against the petition *as a whole*—and that both publicly and privately. He felt it due to his countrymen in this public assembly to apologize for the injustice he had done to that document. (Cheers) Notwithstanding the objectionable clause to which he had alluded, and some other clauses which it was needless to specify, the petition contained ideas which indicated a high sense of Indian politics. Nothing could be a higher recommendation of it than that almost all the important improvements introduced by the President of the Board of Control were suggested by the petition ; and that at a time when both Conservatives and Liberals had contemplated the renewal of the Charter with scarcely any modification. Under these circumstances the native community might congratulate themselves on their prudence and foresight, and treat with just contempt the hostile remarks which appeared yesterday in the so called *Friend of India*. Let the Meeting now consider *seriatim* the points in which wholly or partially the Minister for India has met the wishes of the Bengal petitioners. The petitioners wished that the renewed Charter should not extend beyond ten years. The Minister proposes that it should not be extended for any period at all so as to preclude Parliament from legislating on India at any time. The petitioners

wished that the number of Directors or advisers of the Minister should be reduced, and that six Directors should be nominated by the Crown. The Minister has in a great measure granted this wish by proposing that the number of Directors should be reduced to 18, and that the Crown should nominate 6 of them. The petitioners proposed the creation of a Legislative Council separate from the Executive; the Minister has accepted the proposal. The petitioners desired that there should be a separate Governor of Bengal; the Minister has so provided in his scheme. The petitioners proposed that the salaries attached to the higher offices should be reduced, and those of the lower offices enlarged; the Minister has promised that there shall be a revision of salaries. The petitioners desired that the unseemly spectacle of a large empire governed professedly by private patronage should be discontinued and that the appointments to the Civil Service be thrown open to public competition; the Minister has grappled with this difficult question, and resolved that merit alone shall guide not only civil appointments, of which the petitioners had spoken, but also appointments to the Scientific Military Service and to Assistant Surgeoncies—thus in the one point doing more than the petitioners had asked. The petitioners had desired that the Supreme and the Sudder Courts should be amalgamated; the Minister has granted the petition. These are reasons sufficient to convince the Meeting of the attention paid to their recommendations, and to excite the thankfulness which the resolution requires for the improvements inserted in the scheme. The Meeting, he hoped, would prove to the world that the natives were not insensible of the excellencies of the Bill while they complained of its defects. But it might be asked why not rest satisfied with the points already gained? Why become querulous when there were so many reasons for thankfulness. For this plain reason, nothing has been done to remove the ban under which the natives had so long practically laboured; but rather things have been proposed to be worse in that respect than they were left by the Charter of 1833. If, as it now appears, the competition to the service even in England is not left open for natives, then the door which was left open in the old Charter is now legally closed. What have the natives done to deserve this sore reproach? A scheme as it approaches perfection renders its defects the more glaring; but the new scheme has in this respect a blot which would be prominently seen even in the days of monopoly. If, as Mr. Melville, the Secretary of the Court of Directors, has admitted in his evidence, the natives of a country have the best right to be employed in its services, why this studied exclusion in the latter half of the 19th century? After mooted the idea in Committee of the admissibility of natives to the Legislative Council, the drama ends tragically by their entire exclusion from the service! If, however, the Minister had deliberately and *advisedly* come to this determination, he (the speaker) might have advised his countrymen to suffer it in silence. But, as

has been incontrovertibly shown the Minister for India came to that determination on misinformation. He spoke under misinformation when he said in his speech that natives would be placed in difficulties if appointed to high offices. He spoke under misinformation when he remarked that unlike the English nation the natives became jealous, instead of being proud, when any member of their body was promoted to a high office ; or that a native would become a political martyr if he were promoted to eminence, and find a Counsellor's chair a *bed of arrows*. The misinformation would be rectified when this day's proceedings were made known, and then one might expect the Minister would willingly do justice to an injured race. Among others who assisted in creating an erroneous impression in the Minister's mind Mr. J. C. Marshman held a conspicuous place.

He called the appointment of a native member of Council a 'difficult and a delicate question.' He buttered his evidence by remarking that *he should be very sorry to say anything that would, in any measure, wound the feelings of the natives, among whom he had lived so long.* Very great tenderness of feeling ! But tenderness might be otherwise called *softness or weakness of mind*. Strange, that the stout hearted Editor of the *Friend of India*, who never spared a blow to the native aristocracy, should suddenly fall into such a fit of tenderness before the Commons' Committee, and be sorry to say anything that might wound native feelings. Such weakness of mind did not exist when he raked up native defects, while he divulged even private arrangements into which parties had entered with him as a printer, when he proverbially spoke of the illustrious Rajah whom the President named in his opening address, and whom the victor of Plassey delighted to honor—as *Nabokissenn Babottu*. There must be something magical in the editorial chair of the *Friend of India*, or in the witness's seat in the Committee room. Either the former imparted a *tiger's heart*, or the latter a *deer's*. Mr. Marshman could not recommend a native of India to be appointed to the executive appointment. Why ? Not because they are a conquered race—it would have been better to have spoken at once in the Ellenborough idiom. No, but because "the natives themselves have so little confidence in one another, that if any such member were appointed to the Council he would be regarded with feelings of the most intense envy and mistrust"—and "because, however honourable and upright he might be, his own servants would be continually representing that he possessed supreme power in the country, and that they would immediately set their influence in his family up for sale !" Does Mr. Marshman speak from personal experience ? His dependants indeed gave out strange things as to the supreme power of the "king of Serampore." Is there any such virtue in the Anglo-Saxon race that their servants too, though natives by race, partake of Anglo-Saxon excellency and abstain from doing the evil which is mono-

polized by the servants of natives, "however upright." The Meeting ought to remember who Mr. Marshman is. Upwards of twenty years ago he edited the *Sumachur Durpun*, an Anglo-Bengalee newspaper, chiefly read by natives. At that time Mr. Marshman himself advocated in the *Durpun*, the measure of having native members in the Legislative Council, and proposed that Ram Mohun Roy and Bhubany Churn Banerjea should sit in it. But there was no immediate prospect of the thing then. The prospect was distant.

" 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view "

At that time Mr. Marshman was not the *Friend of India*—his friendship for our race was then undeveloped. Sir Charles Wood also appealed to Mr. Marshman as an authority in favor of immediate legislation for India. He said:—

" In the opinion that we are not likely to obtain much additional information from India calculated to be of service in our present proceeding, I am confirmed by the statement of a most intelligent witness, who appeared before the Committee a few days ago; a gentleman who had resided the whole of his life in India, and is better acquainted than almost any one else with the feelings and habits of the people of India,—I mean Mr. Marshman. He stated to the Committee his opinion as follows:—' For the arrangement of the general government of India, both abroad and at home, I think the Committee has received as much information as can be deemed necessary, and that nothing is to be gained by waiting for further light upon that subject. I do not think it is at all likely that by postponing legislation we should obtain further valuable information from India. I think that there can be no necessity whatever for waiting in the hope of obtaining further information from India.' "

This is what Mr. Marshman said to the people of England. Let the meeting compare it with what he had said to the people of India two or three months before returning home as the Editor of the *Friend of India* —

" A report was brought from London by the mail of the 24th of August, that the Court of Directors hoped to complete the evidence, and get the whole question of their Charter disposed of during the brief session of four or five weeks, which was expected to commence on the 11th of November, and terminate just before Christmas. This would be tantamount to a renewal of the Charter for twenty years without enquiry, and it would reflect such deep discredit on all those who had any share in such a measure, that we scarcely think it can have been seriously contemplated. After the House of Lords had pronounced the subject referred to them one of 'importance,' and divided their enquiries into eight distinct heads, how can they tamely submit to vote a new Charter while the most important topics of enquiry were untouched? It would be difficult to discover language too strong to characterize such an outrage on all decency. India has a right to expect the best Government which England can bestow on her, and for this object a calm, deliberate and impartial investigation of the working of the institutions which have been already established in the country, is indispensable. We require the prolongation of the present Charter for another twelve-

month, in order that the next session may be entirely devoted to the receipt of evidence from all parties, Europeans and Natives, official and non-official. What is to be done only once in twenty years ought to be done well."

Such is the character of the witness by believing in whom the President of the Board of Control does not give to the natives a boon which he in his unbiassed judgment thought it was due to them. Oh that he had not listened to such evil counsels!

The Reverend K. M. Banerjea went on to say that the Mahomedan rulers with all their faults pursued a more liberal imperial policy. Elphinstone says of Akbar that "his employment of them (Hindus) equally with Mahomedans began with his assumption of the government." The Historian of India can cite the names of Man Sing, Todur Mull, Hemu, Beerbul, as holding high offices under Mahomedan emperors, but not a single name is reserved to him to record as holding *similar* offices under the auspices of Britannia. It is to be hoped that Christian Britain will not allow herself to be outdone in this respect by the followers of Mahomet. The Rev. speaker concluded with alluding to the testimony of the Secretary of the Court of Directors, who said that a time will come when the spread of civilization and Christianity will prepare the natives for taking a share in the government of their country, but then, Mr. Melville added, the British Supremacy must cease at that time. This doctrine was an injury both to England and India. If men in authority believed that the connection of England with India will cease when the natives are enlightened, they would naturally be embarrassed in their human proceedings; for though Sir Charles Wood said in words that ought to be written in letters of gold, that he would prefer the elevation of India even though the empire were lost to Britain, to the degradation of India under Britain; yet no Minister could boldly persevere in measures that might be supposed to lead to such a political crisis. Mr. Melville's doctrine is also to be regretted, for the influence it might produce on native minds. If natives believed their elevation and British supremacy were not compatible, their allegiance might naturally be shaken. No! the true doctrine is enunciated in Mr. Cameron's unparalleled book. It is there proved beyond a doubt that the Romans by their policy of imperial equality reigned in the hearts of their provincial subjects. Are the natives of India, taught from infancy to regard with awe the powers that be, likely to be less attached to their rulers when they are relieved from disability and treated like members of a common human family? Never. Their allegiance for the Queen will, become a hundred fold greater, and their confidence in British justice be proportionally increased when British rulers will judge of their feelings from their own notions of human nature, and not from the testimony of witnesses, who while they would give the natives the *crumbs* that fall from Anglo-Saxon tables, are desirous of monopolizing the bread themselves.

Baboo Coylas Chunder Bose then addressed the Meeting as follows :

Gentlemen,—I hope you will listen to me for five minutes only. You cannot deny me this indulgence. I owe you an apology for the little service I can hope to render in the cause in which you are embarked. I am not blest with the advantages which many of you here present enjoy, of a command of language which rises spontaneously to the lips, of a varied knowledge of the detail of the machinery by which our country is governed, of a thorough and intimate acquaintance with the state of the country, the condition and the wants of its people. But either for the poverty of my language, or for my imperfect knowledge of the state of the country, and of its administrative machinery, I am not the less concerned for its future welfare, I am not the less sensible of its present wrongs. I am not, I trust, the less fit for standing amidst you in behalf of my country. Now that the crisis is come, so long watched for with interest and solicitude, I mean a Parliamentary debate respecting the future government of our country ; now that a Committee of enquiry has been instituted to elicit information on the state of affairs in India ; now that it has gone through the evidences of some of the most important personages in Indian politics ; now that the measure has been announced which proposes to continue in the hands of our honorable masters, the Honorable the East India Company, the government of this country with only slight modifications ; now that the destiny of India for another twenty years or a more indefinite period is nearly sealed, it behoves us, fellow countrymen, as subjects of an enlightened and benevolent government, as children of the soil, exposed to many wrongs, to wait at the door of Her Majesty's Imperial Houses with an explicit and sensible representation of our real grievances, fortifying our statements by well-selected and authenticated facts. Let our language be the language of a subject to his sovereign, respectful, and submissive. But let it be at the same time unhesitating and unequivocal. Let us not through a mistaken zeal, or too sanguine a hope of redress magnify our wrongs. Let us extenuate nothing nor set down aught in malice. Let us also hope a little that our disappointment at the end may not be great. Neither let us presume to dictate the line of policy that ought to be pursued with regard to India. For that would be an act of unpardonable folly and presumption. Our best policy would be to point out the defects in the system of the government that has existed from the commencement of the British Empire in India, and the shortcomings in the ministerial scheme that has been laid before the House by Sir Charles Wood. It shall no less be our duty to comment upon some of the evidences taken before the Committee. For much has been said before that Committee, which is not only an insufficient and imperfect account of the state of this country, but much that has been perverted to serve a dishonorable end. I shall therefore touch upon some of

the points which it would be necessary for us to allude to in the representation that ought to be made from the people of this country. But before I proceed with this important part of my duty, it may not be uninteresting to offer a few hints regarding the most effectual manner in which the representation is to be made. The experiment has been tried of sending a memorial to the House, and it has not succeeded. Well, if it has failed, let us grasp at another. There is no cause for despair. The time is not yet gone by. All is not yet over with this unfortunate country. India has friends in Englishmen who will not easily suffer her to be given up to the selfishness and avarice of a few that are interested in the debasement of the many. It would be for you to co-operate with those benevolent and philanthropic men who have your cause at heart. It would be your interest to place at their disposal information regarding this country which, from the distance of sea and land that intervenes between us, it is difficult for them to obtain with ease and accuracy. Their knowledge of India is generally derived from books and newspapers. Books and newspapers that are written by half-informed European residents in India, who at the most can judge of things from their appearances, and who often jump to conclusions from insufficient facts and data. I mean no derogation to their talents or their powers of observation. On the contrary I am free to confess that some very able and unexceptionable works have been written by European residents in India. But they have always had to encounter with a serious difficulty which no amount of labour could obviate or overcome. I mean the conventional condition of the people of this country which always shuts out the European or the *beef-eater* from the social circle of the Hindus. He is always to them a stranger and a *melachoo*. And for this above all other reasons he is disqualified from speaking as to their real situation and wants in life. Information regarding their situation and wants for the use of a committee of enquiry must be derived from the people of the country and should be furnished mostly by them. It would therefore be, gentlemen, I repeat, our duty and interest to embody our respective evidences in an explicit and intelligible statement and to place it at the disposal of those well meaning individuals who have been fighting our cause in the west. Such co-operation, gentlemen, will be for your infinite advantage. While an enlightened education has conferred on those gentlemen, the friends of India in the west, the advantage of superior powers of speech and of mind, the materials that will be supplied by you as coming from the children of the soil, who can alone speak to their wants and their sources of unhappiness will, in effect, lessen the credibility of most of the evidence which tells so unfavourably of this country, and give to European minds a different turn in respect to Indian affairs from what has been hitherto taken by them. In speaking of the evidence I mostly allude to those of Messrs. Marshman and Halliday who for

the reason of their long residence and occupations in India should have borne quite a different testimony from what has been done by them. Mr. Marshman! may his shadow never grow less; I have respect for the talents and his knowledge of Indian affairs, but he has bartered them and his independence for something tangible, and glittering. Mr. Halliday—that friend to native education, whom many of us will remember to have seen strutting along the pavement of the Hindu College Hall with admiration in his eyes for the acquirements of the alumni of that excellent institution, is the man, who has stood foremost before the house in deprecating Native worth and intelligence. Mr. Halliday, if I mistake not, when in Calcutta, was a great friend to that respectable countryman of ours, Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore. But in alluding to that gentleman, he has happened to say something that would place him in a degrading position instead of what he really holds, as a man of the greatest influence and respectability among his fellow-countrymen. But leaving these gentlemen and their evidences to themselves, I shall strictly confine myself within the limits which I have proposed to myself, for the present occasion.

In speaking of the manner in which a representation is to be made I wish I could even for one moment indulge in a hope—the most glorious for India—of a deputation from this country, consisting of respectable and well-informed men selected from the higher and influential ranks of our society. Such a deputation will carry before it every opposition and indifference to questions of Indian importance, and will secure for our country the most inestimable blessings. It will fill the minds of our friends and well-wishers in the west with higher and worthier notions of Native enterprise, patriotism and enlightenment, than we have hitherto given them an opportunity of entertaining—with the exception of only two bright examples. No one here present can mistake the examples to whom I allude. Peace be to their ashes! That would be indeed a proud day for India when her children will be permitted to stand before those mighty tribunals which constitute the palladium of English liberty, and claim for their countrymen immunities and privileges to which every subject of that government is a freeborn heir without distinction of color, creed, or birth. But I will not indulge in this reverie for any great length of time. The proposition should have come from its proper quarter, from men who by their position in society, their superior talents and their independent fortunes are capable of realizing the hopes and wishes just now expressed. I shall just proceed to review some of the most important parts of the speech of Sir Charles Wood. He has dwelt at considerable length on the necessity of legislating for India during the present session of the parliament without waiting for further investigation and evidence from this country. With regard to evidence from this country, the Right Honorable gentleman is of opinion “that no new light of additional inform-

ation is likely to be obtained by waiting for fresh evidence from India." And in support of his opinion has adduced the authority of Mr. Marshman who stated his opinion to the Committee as follows. "For the arrangement of the general government of India both abroad and at home, I think the Committee has received as much information as can be deemed necessary and that nothing is to be gained by waiting for further light upon that subject. I do not think it is at all likely that by postponing legislation, we should obtain further valuable information from India. I think there can be no necessity whatever for waiting in the hope of obtaining further information from India." No further valuable information is likely to be obtained from India; for this reason, that Mr. Marshman has furnished the committee with all that was valuable! I am not aware to what evidence from India Sir Charles Wood alluded, but I am perfectly sure he never dreamt of any evidence from the people of this country—the only quarter from which new light or additional information can be expected. In alluding to the petitions which have been forwarded and one of which Sir Charles Wood has been pleased to characterize as a tissue of exaggeration and misrepresentation, the Honorable gentleman has selected three topics for consideration,—The administration of justice, the want of public works, and the tenure of land. With regard to the administration of justice in India the Hon'ble gentleman has dwelt with considerable force on the incorruptibility of English judges, and the confidence of the Natives in their honesty. This, Sir Charles Wood has gathered from the evidence of Mr. Halliday. But if the Right Honorable Gentleman had any means of access to the opinions of the Natives themselves, he would have learnt to his infinite surprise, that they expect as much justice at the hands of an English Judge, as they expect from a log of wood, or the image of stone which they worship—for in the Court of an English Judge, the Sheristadar is the all in all, who is their preserving or their destroying angel. But the Right Honorable Gentleman is not very far from the mark in holding that native litigants to a suit would generally prefer the Court of an English Judge to that of a native justiciary, for the chances of corrupting the under officers of the Court are greater in the former than the latter. With regard to the character of native evidence in a court of justice, it has been maintained on the authority of the Rev. Dr. Duff, a gentleman for whom I have always entertained the greatest respect, that they are generally false and not true, and that a native witness generally prefers falsehood to truth. The statement is true to a certain extent. But it ought to have been also mentioned that a proneness to giving false evidence is not an inherent vice in the natives of this country. On the contrary no nation on the face of the earth has been more remarkable for their truthfulness and simplicity. Before the introduction of English courts in India and English law technicalities there was seldom an occasion for evidence in a court of justice. Large transactions of

money and other credit transactions were carried on in mutual trust, and there is not a single Hindu family that cannot produce some old document in which the only witnesses were the bodies in the heavens, the sun, moon and the planetary spheres. Sir Charles in his enthusiastic admiration for the Company's Judges has been led to take a comparative view of reversion of decisions in cases of appeal from the Sudder and the Supreme Court, and to submit to the House the agreeable statement that the proportion of cases affirmed by the higher authorities is that of two-thirds on the side of Company's Judges, and only one-third on the side of the Queen's Judges. If Sir Charles Wood meant to insinuate that justice is better administered in India by the former than the latter officers, then all I can say is that here in India he will be laughed at by every body.

The next subject to which the Right Honorable Gentleman has alluded, is the execution of public works in India. He has not said, that much has been done in this department, but that as much has been done as the funds of the East India Company would allow. He has adverted with great satisfaction to the great trunk road, the *serais* and provision establishments, the guard houses, and the roads and canals in the different parts of India, all which he thinks have placed us in possession of greater comforts than we ever enjoyed under any other rulers. Admitting the truth of his position that we did not enjoy similar benefits under Mahomedan rulers, I beg to submit the question,—would the features of a barbarous Government constitute the standard by which we are to judge of the merits of an enlightened government like the one we have now the good fortune of being placed under? The state of our roads is miserable, in the rainy season they are almost impassable, so much so, that one can hardly venture out without risking his neck. Much has been promised to be done. But where is the security for the promise being fulfilled? Some provision ought to have been made by which annually a sum could have been reserved from the Indian revenue, for works of permanent utility.

Next regarding the appointment of natives to situations of emolument and trust it has been remarked by the Right Honorable gentleman, 'that Natives should be employed as extensively as possible in situations for which they are fitted, but it cannot be agreeable to a Native to be placed in an employment in which he becomes an object not of envy but of jealousy to those around him, who, had they our feelings under such circumstances, would be proud of their countryman's elevation.' This the Right Honorable gentleman has also gathered from the evidence of Mr. Halliday—but from what sources Mr. Halliday again gathered this story of 'jealousy,' I cannot tell, for instead of jealousy—there was every demonstration of joy at the elevation of Babu Huru Chunder Ghose to the post of Calcutta Magistrate. If jealousy there were, it was somewhere else than in the Natives of this country.

With regard to topics of Indian revenue, the duty on salt and other monopolies; I am not prepared to pass any opinion at present, I would leave it in the hands of the better informed portions of my countrymen. It has been repeatedly urged on the attention of the Indian Home authorities that the duty on salt is one of the most oppressive taxes in India—Salt, so necessary and large an article of consumption, but for the duty levied on it would be one of the cheapest Indian products.

I shall however take no exception to the ministerial scheme for constituting the future Home Government of India. It were only desirable that there should be a greater security for parliamentary interference in the transaction of Indian affairs by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, than the ministerial scheme proposes to secure. But with regard to the enjoyment of patronage by the Court of Directors, the improvements proposed upon the old exclusive system promise even no distant good to this nation. By throwing open Halseybury and Addiscombe to public competition, what benefits can the people of India expect from such a measure? Instead of any substantive good, it extinguishes those faint glimmerings of hope with which they were sometimes inspired from the remembrance of a clause in the Charter Act of 1833, which provided that all persons without distinction of caste, color, or creed were eligible to those envied appointments which have been only filled by the pet service.

The idea of appointing Natives to the legislative council in India has been altogether abandoned. No measure would have conferred greater practical benefits on the people at large. In all good governments the nation has a voice in the legislation, and the exclusion of that voice no law human or divine would sanction. But the ministerial scheme supports the exclusion and would have the people of this country to bear in mind, that they have been conquered by the sword, and by it they shall be governed!"

^a The ministerial scheme within its large compass holds out no prospects of improvements in Educational plans. Nothing surely can be more mortifying or more discouraging to natives of this country. Alas! have the phantoms disappeared which once animated them with the hope of seeing an Indian university, and of its would be alumni crowned with degrees and titles of distinction? Away with these visions. But no, perhaps those well meaning individuals who raised in us these expectations will come forward to justify their promises. Perhaps they may insist on the establishment of universities in this country, on the grant of additional funds for the purposes of education, on the bestowal of titles of honor and distinction on the Native graduates from these universities. All this may be done, at least should be done, for so vast an empire, for so large a population.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Baboo Debendranath Tagore after a few prefatory remarks in Bengallee moved the following Resolution.—

“ That the following petition to parliament, embodying the sentiments contained in the above Resolutions, be adopted.”

The above resolution was seconded by Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, and carried unanimously.

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the Hindu and other Native Inhabitants of Calcutta and other parts of the Presidency of Bengal, in public Meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta Assembled.

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners have considered with the deepest interest and most anxious attention, the scheme brought to India by a recent mail of the future government of this country, as proposed by Her Majesty's Ministers in a “ Memorandum ” communicated by the Right Honorable the President of the Board of Control to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, under date the 1st June last, and as further developed by the said Right Hon'ble President in your Hon'ble House in his speech, delivered on the 3rd June last.

That your petitioners are grateful for the several improvements designed in the future system of Indian Government, and introduced into the proposed scheme ; and they especially refer with satisfaction to the principle on which important parts of the patronage of India are to be administered ; to the absence of any of those restrictions upon the right of Parliament, at any time to modify the Government, and to the purpose intimated of annually submitting to the notice of Parliament the affairs of this country in the form of estimates of Revenue and Expenditure.

That your petitioners are nevertheless deeply disappointed at the omission in the proposed scheme of several important, and in their estimation, essential objects.

In explanation of some of their views, your petitioners beg leave to refer in the first place to the proposed reconstitution of the local legislature. Your petitioners gratefully recognize the wisdom of increasing the number of members in the Legislative Council of India, but they respectfully deprecate the selection being confined, as is proposed, to the official classes, and the absence of any arrangement for the admission of one or more natives of India. It would not become your petitioners to define the terms or conditions on which natives should be admitted to the local legislature ; but their presence and aid are essential, in the opinion of your petitioners, and no measure which continues their exclusion can be satisfactory to the natives of India. Your petitioners also entirely abstain from suggesting any number of natives as the pro-

per or desirable proportion of native members ; being well assured that if the prejudice against their admission were broken through by the admission of only a single native member, experience would lead to the admission of the proper number.

Your petitioners beg to express to your Hon'ble House not only their disappointment but their surprize at the non-admission of natives into the new constitution of the Legislative Council. In this respect the proposed plan is a deviation, as they are informed, from what is become the habitual and strong current of imperial policy towards the colonies : to the smallest colonies parliament has given Legislative Councils in every case, partly composed of non-official members, and your petitioners are informed that in the constitution of the Legislative Council of Ceylon, there is no necessary exclusion of the natives of the Island as in the proposed scheme for the Legislative Council of India.

Your petitioners are fully aware of the peculiar circumstances of the British power in India, and also that those circumstances are used in argument as grounds of distrust, but your petitioners on the contrary see in those circumstances the strongest reason for endeavouring to win the attachment of the native community, and nothing would so greatly conduce to this most desirable end in the opinion of your petitioners, as a liberal admission of natives to places of trust, amongst which they number the office of Legislative Councillor ; it is not for your petitioners to mention individuals or even to dilate on the mental attributes of the natives of India ; but hundreds of those fellow subjects in England who have lived among them know, that the natives are not deficient in intellectual powers, and your petitioners feel confident that by a proper selection of persons, they would be found eminently useful in the Legislative Council of India.

Your petitioners also beg to refer to some advantages possessed by natives which peculiarly qualify them for the office of Legislative Councillor in conjunction with European Councillors : they know better than it is possible any European should know, the social interests and feelings of the natives of India ; they better know in what manuer native laws and customs affect native society ; and it may be inferred they are well qualified to discuss and advise in what manner those laws and customs may best be modified for adaptation to an advancing civilization and imperial ideas ; and your petitioners do not believe that natives would be found to obstruct any legislative changes required by the interests of society. Your petitioners accordingly think that it is highly unwise even with reference to imperial objects and interests to exclude natives from the Legislative Council of India. In support of these views your petitioners also beg to refer to the subjects which have come within the scope of local legislation for the last twenty years, and to the limitations put by the Charter Act, (whose provisions in this respect they believe are to remain in force) over the powers of the Legislative Council

of India. The Act Book is composed chiefly of Laws relating to the procedure of Courts of Justice, to the judicial and executive powers of Judges, to the subjects of substantive law in the civil and criminal branches, and to the protection and realization of the revenue ; and so far as your petitioners know not half a dozen Acts which any reasonable person would desire to withdraw from the consideration of a Native Councillor have been passed for the last eighteen years. Moreover, legislation would still pass by the vote of a majority. The Legislative Council has also powers of a very limited nature. It cannot deal with matters affecting the prerogative of the Crown ; the executive authority of the Governor-General in Council is paramount to it ; the Indian Authorities in England are paramount to it ; and it cannot contravene any provisions of an Act of Parliament.

For the above and many other reasons your petitioners earnestly press on Parliament their claim for the admission of natives into the new Legislative Council of India.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your Hon'ble House will be pleased to prescribe such a constitution to the New Legislative Council of India as will provide for the inclusion therein of a number of members being natives of the country.

That your petitioners beg leave to refer in the second place to the proposed continuance of the East India Company's College at Haileybury as the exclusive medium of admission into the higher grades of civil employ in this country. This provision will in effect be an exclusion of the natives of this country from those grades of the service. For as your Hon'ble House is already aware there are religious and social prejudices against a Hindoo's crossing the seas, and even if such prejudices did not exist, the necessity of making a voyage half round the globe to attain a mere chance of passing an examination, and then in case of success of prolonging a residence in an uncongenial climate, separated from parental and other connections, at an early age, would be an insuperable bar to the native youth of this country sharing in the benefit of the proposed measure. Your petitioners therefore regard the right of admission to Haileybury or to any English College as illusory, so far as the natives of India are concerned ; and to secure to them the advantage apparently designed, (but not in reality made attainable) your petitioners pray that the entrance to Haileybury or any English College may in the case of native youth be dispensed with, and your petitioners beg to represent that native youths can acquire in India whatever educational qualification may be necessary.

With reference also to the proposed continuance of the College of Haileybury, your petitioners beg to express their apprehension that it will, whether so intended or not, be made the means of continuing a privileged branch of the public service, which your petitioners would most earnestly deprecate and regard as injurious

alike to the character of the government and the public interests ; and your petitioners beg to add that there is no object to which they have been looking forward with more interest than the abolition of the distinction of the existing civil service.

Your petitioners also beg to bring to the notice of your Hon'ble House the want of some remedial measure with reference to the remuneration and emoluments of natives, who are employed in offices of trust or importance : such for example are all judicial offices from that of the Moonsiff upwards, and such also are the chief executive offices under the native and other judges forming the heads of departments in judicial establishments ; for example, there is the Sheristadar, who in every Court from the lowest to the highest may be said to be the right hand of the Court, dispensing (as it were) the justice which the judge pronounces. Also in the revenue and other departments natives hold equally important offices, and to all or nearly all of them, the same remark applies, that the just claims of these classes themselves have never been fairly considered, and their remuneration and emoluments never have been and still are not of an amount at all consonant with their proper station in native society or the importance of their duties. For example the Moonsiff's Sheristadar (an officer above referred to) has only the pay of a menial servant ; the Sheristadar (same officer) in the Civil and Sessions Courts has one hundred Rupees or £10 per mensem, while the judge enjoys a salary of Rupees 2,500 or £250 monthly. Inequalities of this kind pervade the whole of the East India Company's Establishments. Representation after representation has been made on this subject but with little success or none ; injustice towards native officials being (as it were) stereotyped in the Company's system. And be it remarked, it is not merely for the sake of the officers that your Petitioners complain : abuses without number are the necessary fruits of this system. Your Hon'ble House has probably heard much of native bribery and corruption : behold here a sufficient cause if the fact be so, in the miserable pay of large classes of native public servants. It is undoubtedly true that those parts of Bengal which have been longest under the East India Company are most obnoxious to charges of this kind ; and therefore your Petitioners ascribe the fact so far as it is true to the influence of an established system. From speeches made in Parliament and evidence given before your Committees, it would almost be supposed that natives prefer to go naked, and that wanting little they like to be starved, but your Petitioners beg to represent that not inclination but poverty makes nakedness, and poverty with opportunity makes corruption, and so far as your Petitioners and the great body of their countrymen are concerned, this is their reply to charges of corruption, and they implore your Hon'ble House to put at least one check to it, namely by securing to natives in important offices proper remuneration : the first step in the opinion

of your Petitioners necessary to raise the character of native officials is to do the common justice to them of giving them proper emoluments and remuneration and your Petitioners beg to add that a large infusion of liberal and enlightened principles into the chief machinery of Government as well as the introduction of natives into the Council are essential for carrying out a proper reformation in this and other respects of the East India Company's system.

From the above remarks your Hon'ble House will perceive that your petitioners desire to see their fellow countrymen raised to the highest employments and properly remunerated in *all* employments; and this declaration, they trust, will be regarded as a sufficient refutation of the representations made before the committee of your Hon'ble House by certain witnesses and repeated and dwelt upon by the Right Hon'ble Sir Charles Wood in his speech of the 3d June last, to the effect that natives want confidence in their fellow countrymen. This assertion is of great importance and if your Hon'ble House would assume it to be true, your petitioners would urge that it is proof of a great fault on the part of Government; for who can doubt that if Government makes its appointments on proper principles and selects for important offices natives of respectable rank and condition, and gives them proper salary, that the natives would feel themselves favored and honored in the persons of their countrymen and your petitioners do think it desirable, and that it would conduce to increase the public confidence of natives, if they were better remunerated and a larger proportion was selected for educational merit and social rank and importance.

Your Hon'ble House must be well aware of the varied and unlimited resources of this country, and of the insufficiency of the means employed to develop those resources. Your petitioners are therefore most anxious that in the ensuing Act for the government of India some provision should be distinctly made for the extension of public works so that this highly important object may be systematically and effectually carried out.

Your Hon'ble House cannot fail to perceive that your petitioners have met on the shortest notice on the present occasion, from the anxious desire of expressing their opinion on the instant, as to so much of the government scheme as appears to be matured, and under these circumstances your petitioners abstain from dwelling upon other important topics; such as the utter inefficiency of the police in Bengal, the hardship and injustice of the stamp duty, the necessity of establishing universities in the presidency towns, and of extending and improving the Government Educational Institutions.

Your petitioners conclude by praying your Hon'ble House to take the above allegations into your serious consideration and that your Hon'ble House will be pleased to adopt such means as may be necessary to obtain for natives an immediate admission into

the Legislative Council, as also of introducing natives on equal terms into the higher grades of civil employ.

And your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghose rose to supply an omission which he had made in his former address on the subject of Public Works in India.

Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghose had noticed that *Sir Charles Wood* and *Sir J. W. Hogg* had vaunted much in Parliament about the Grand Trunk Road, saying it is a macadamised road, "smooth as a bowling green." He only wondered they had not compared it at once to a *Thurston's* billiard table! Knowing well that the account given in the House of Commons was greatly exaggerated he had sought for the most correct and recent information as to the condition of the Grand Trunk Road in Bengal. Rather than seek for it from native quarters which might be sneered at, he had applied to a European Gentleman, the acting manager of the North-Western Dâk Company, who had kindly furnished him with the following report,

BABOO RAM GOPAUL GHOSE.

DEAR SIR,—In the absence of our manager, *Mr. Allen*, I beg to offer you the following statement of the condition of the Grand Trunk Road in Bengal.

I travelled from Benares to this between the 10th and 15th ultimo, before any rain had fallen on the upper portion of the road, and before sufficient had fallen in the lower portion to do it any injury, but even then some parts were so bad that it was with the greatest difficulty passengers could get over it. I refer in the first place to that portion from the Doorgontee Suspension Bridge to Jehannabad, or say from the 385th mile-stone to the 362nd, this division had been broken up, to allow of bridges being built, and the road to be raised to a higher level; but for the time they have been about this (now at least 18 months) conveyances to proceed at all have been obliged to get entirely off the road, and push along across the fields, as best they might. In the second place, I would refer to that portion of the road, between the 336th and the 350th mile-stones, I have frequently passed over it in my way to and from the Upper Provinces, but never saw it in decent order, the metal appears to be a nasty shingle, that never will consolidate. Between the 333rd and 336th mile stones is the river Soane. The great difficulty with which this river is crossed needs no mention here,—it is patent to all. I may remark that Dâk travellers are drawn through the sand in the dry weather at an average rate of a mile an hour, thus occupying 2 to 3 hours in their passage across. Between the Soane and Sheerghotty, or the 333rd and 290th mile stones, the road is generally bad, being made of much the same material as that complained of between the 336th and 350th mile stones. I may be wrong in stating that the material is the same, and will confine myself to the assertion that

it is nearly as bad, for never at any time have I seen it properly consolidated. On either side of Sheerghotty there is a bed of a mountain torrent, these being narrow are easily enough crossed during the dry weather, at least the traveller is put to no great inconvenience, though it is difficult enough for a pair of bullocks to pull a heavily laden cart over them. These might very easily be bridged at a comparatively small outlay,—wanting the bridges during the rainy season, when these rivers are frequently full, the Dāk traveller or heavily laden cart is equally obliged to wait until the waters subside, for there are no means of getting the conveyance across, not even a boat of sufficiently large dimensions.

The river Seelazan, between the 282nd and 283rd mile stones, is now nearly bridged; but I have more than once had my carriage drawn through its waters, getting every thing thoroughly soaked, in preference to waiting some indefinite period, when it should subside. From the 278th to the 263th mile stones the road is comparatively good though hilly, but all through the Dunwah Pass up to 257th mile stone, where the road should be kept in the best order on account of its being so steep, it has been all through this year in a most disgraceful state of dis-repair. The road thence to the 147th mile stone is generally pretty good, but intersected in two places by the River Baruckary—Eastern and Western—the western is bridged, but the eastern is guiltless of anything of the sort. During the rains the public are accommodated with a rickety boat on which conveyances, &c., are crossed from one side to the other.

Up to the 100th mile stone the road still remains pretty good—and is so all the way on to Calcutta during the dry season—or rather when we have long intervals of dry weather, but after a heavy shower of rain it is very difficult indeed for a horse to pull any kind of carriage over. Between the 25th and 33rd mile stones there are two small nullahs that require bridging very much—just now there are a few planks only thrown across, on some very fragile and unsafe-looking supports,—the most dangerous apologies for bridges that could have been put together.

The above is a short description of the road, as it may be seen in the month of May and early part of June, but now the rains have set in, from one end of it to the other new metal will be laid down or rather scattered over it, which is left to time to consolidate and make hard. In the interval it is all but impassable to anything in the shape of a carriage drawn by one horse.

Yours' faithfully,

EDWARD POWELL,

Actg. Manager, N. W. Dāk Co.

Calcutta, 27th July, 1853.

This is the condition of the Road which is the boast and the pride of the British Government. He (Baboo R. G. Ghose) did not mean to go to the length of denying that the Trunk Road was a great work, but when men who ought to know better indulge in such exaggeration as to describe it to be "as smooth as a bowling-green" they very naturally provoke ridicule.

In conclusion, Baboo Ram Gopaul Gose explained that Baboos Anshootos Dey and Mutty Loll Seal had both been prevented by illness from attending the Meeting; and read the following letter from the latter gentleman:

TO BABOO RAM GOPAUL GHOSE.

MY DEAR SIR,—I much regret that the nature of the indisposition under which I am laboring for some days past, prevents my joining you at the Meeting this evening. I beg, however, to express through you my cordial acquiescence in the feelings and sentiments of my countrymen, in regard to the mis-statements which have been made before the Committee of the House of Commons as to the jealousy and ill-feeling of the natives of India towards such of their body as are elevated to any high position in the administration of public duties either in the Judicial, Revenue, or any other branch of the Government Service. I can confidently speak from my own experience of years, that our countrymen are not devoid of that national and patriotic feeling which is inherent in human nature, and it is certainly fallacious, and indeed opposed to common sense, to suppose that any man of the world should be blind to the peculiar advantages of any reformed system, which would confer an everlasting boon on themselves and their descendants, and hence I consider the assertions made before the Committee referred to, as totally groundless and imaginary. I heartily wish and trust that the highly praiseworthy efforts of my fellow-countrymen will prove successful in securing for them those blessings to which they are so justly laying a claim, at the hands of the enlightened and benevolent Government under which we are living.

I assure you that nothing will afford me a greater pleasure than to co-operate with you at all times in any proceedings which the Meeting shall propose to adopt with a view to attain an accomplishment of their desires and laudable objects.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

MUTTY LOLL SEAL.

Cullooollah, 29th July, 1853.

Moved by Rajah Suttachurn Ghosal Bahadoor, and seconded by Rajah Kaleekrishna Bahadoor.—That the Chairman be requested to sign the petition, the interval between the date of the Meeting and that for the departure of the next mail not admitting of its being signed by the community at large.

The thanks of the Meeting were then voted to the Sheriff and the Chairman, after which the Meeting broke up.

PROTEST

AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Lieut. Governor of Bengal,

IN THE MATTER OF THE

BEHAR INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION,

BY

W. TAYLER,

LATE COMMISSIONER OF PATNA

SECOND EDITION,

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APPENDIX B.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE BEHAR INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION.

I NEED scarcely remark that there are two distinct objects to be aimed at in the great work of Education in India; and, though these two may be more or less linked together, as time advances, and leads knowledge in its train, at present they are separate, and must be separately treated.

These two objects are—*First*, the provision of instruction which may qualify men for the distinctions of scholastic attainment, the pure enjoyments of knowledge, or the more material advantages of Public Service; *Secondly*, the *education of the people*.

For the first, which is a special work, directly affecting the few, but in no way touching the mass, (save to rivet their chains and render their darkness darker by contrast)—provision, though as yet imperfect, has been made, and is daily being extended, in the establishment of English Schools and Colleges.

All that is required to bring the thirsting few to these fountains, is to make the Schools systematic channels of preferment in the Public Service, and in College or University distinction.

But the great work of *National Education*, which has millions for its subject, must be achieved through the language already familiar to those millions.

To a certain extent motives of self-interest may, in this work also, be brought into play, as indeed they have been in this Province, by making Education, as far as possible, a necessary passport even to the lowest grade of service.

But even this still leaves the *nation* untouched, and it is *the general uplifting of the entire mass* which philanthropy desires and justice demands at our hands.

It is to be feared that, if instruction is confined to *mere book-learning*, the effort thus to secure the advancement of the people, if not altogether vain, will, in Behar at least, be a work of centuries.

It is idle to expect that the poorer classes will allow their sons to leave their daily occupations, and thus incur a *certain immediate loss* for a prospective benefit, which they neither understand nor believe.

Doubtless, a certain number of Schools may be established by Zemindars and maintained through their influence, and the influence of the local authorities, still, unless we carry with us the sympathies of the people themselves, *there*

can be no sure or permanent vitality in these Schools, and the end will be, that, immediately the external influence is withdrawn, the Schools will fail.

Thinking deeply and anxiously of these things, it has appeared to me that, if a system could be brought into play, which would combine book-instruction with practical education in industrial pursuits, the deadly obstacle presented by the apathy and indifference of the mass might be removed, and, with this idea, after much deliberation, I have ventured to propose the plan which is now about to be carried into effect.

Before entering upon the details of this Scheme, I would observe generally, that the great object aimed at is to place before the people a system of instruction which, while it brings out to a certain extent their moral and intellectual faculties, will, also, and at the same time, afford a direct and tangible object on which those faculties may be exercised, and thus to let them learn and feel that the knowledge they acquire is not an immaterial or speculative acquisition to bear fruit or not, as the case may be, at some indefinite future time, but the source of immediate and direct benefit to them in their necessary and daily pursuits—in short, that *they are not required to sacrifice the stomach to the brain*—thus, when the son of the Carpenter, Farmer, or Blacksmith asks to receive instruction in his trade, I would give it him, on condition that he also learn to read, write and cipher, and make himself master of, at least, the rudimentary principles of his peculiar trade.

There is nothing much more saddening than the sight of a few intelligent, but unwilling pupils, coming over a humdrum and barren task, with neither hope nor interest, with no recognition of the advantage to be gained, and no faith in those who bewilder them with an unintelligible philanthropy.

Nothing could be more hopeful and interesting than a concourse of the same lads, each impelled by attachment to familiar studies, and stimulated by the prospect of real and recognised advantages, acquiring daily skill in practice and daily knowledge of principles, the foundation of future advancement.

I am hopeful that such a system, carefully organised and liberally carried out, will be successful, that it will remove the great obstacle that has hitherto been the stumbling-block in our way, and supply *the great motive which moves the world*.

The Scheme, moreover, as now projected, has this further advantage, that in thus instructing the masses in the various industrial arts and bringing the whole intellectual man into play, another end will be accomplished, *viz.* the development of the resources of the country, and a general improvement in the important science of culture and production.

Two great works will thus go hand in hand, and mutually support and aid each other.

It is also so arranged, that every class will have an interest in the work, from the wealthy Rajah to the destitute orphan, while its catholic and comprehensive

character is such as at once to refute the objections of the bigotted religionist, to put the opposing fanatic out of court, and shame the cavils of all idle objectors.

Furthermore, it will go far to re-establish the natural union between study and work, to give labor the honorable position which it ought ever to occupy, and by the contact of mind with mind, the constant sight and study of scientific results, the occasional gatherings of all classes of people and frequent succession of new objects of interest and enquiry, it may, in course of time, rouse the apathetic spirit of the people, and raise their minds to higher and to better things.

Having made these general observations, I will now briefly touch upon each Department of the Scheme.

• AGRICULTURE.

Without entering at length upon the much mooted question, to what extent the rural economy of Europe is adapted to an Indian ground and Indian climate, it is, I imagine, safe to assume that the present system is susceptible at least of *some* improvement. It is safe to assume that the skill, the science, and the researches of the West, which have of late years been brought so effectively to bear upon the great question of productive industry, must be, to some extent at least, applicable to India, and that there is no peremptory law or inherent speciality in that portion of the broad bosom of our Mother Earth which basks under an Indian Sun to render it an exception to the rest of the world.

I cannot believe in what some people have called the "immutability of Indian habits."

I cannot think that nakedness, dirt, and ignorance, are to be the eternal destiny of millions.

I cannot think it *necessary*, that the Indian plough should only "scratch the surface of the ground"; that the bullocks, whose unhappy tails are twisted by a naked ploughman, should *always* be bare-boned and ill-begotten, or that the ploughman himself should be always naked or "half clothed with a cotton cloth;" that crops should for ever depend on the accidents of weather, and no one dream that husbandry is a science, or that knowledge and study have any connexion with the Earth or its products.

The object, then, of this Department of the Institution, will be to disseminate scientific truths; to introduce new products; to test by experiment such of the more obvious of the plans and improvements as have been found eminently successful in Europe, and as may appear in the eyes of cautious and experienced people to be applicable to Indian farming; to direct the attention of the Zemindars, Farmers, and Agriculturists to these products, plans, and improvements, and to induce them to adopt such as may be found to answer or to offer fair promise and likelihood of success.

If nothing else were to be gained, it would be no little matter to have excited the interest of the landholders and people, and to have roused a spirit of enquiry.

The native mind is well able to appreciate the results of scientific experiments when made palpable to the senses, and the farmers of Behar will not be slow to adopt what is proved to be profitable.

I have no idea of attempting to force upon the people an artificial system of high farming with its elaborate appliances and doubtful results; but I feel very sanguine that the gradual and judicious introduction of better ploughs, threshing machines, and similar aids to industry, will be eminently useful.

CATTLE.

The improvement of the breed of Cattle is a matter of practical utility and speedy results.

A few English Bulls have, at various times, been introduced into these Districts by individual gentlemen, and the greediness with which their society has been sought for, and the acuteness with which clandestine interviews have been contrived by the Cow-keepers, has proved how fully they understand the value of superior stock.

The half-breeds which have sprung from this illicit intercourse are now eagerly sought for, and purchased at high prices.

This will form a regular branch of the Institution, and I anticipate the hearty co-operation of the great Landlords, Indigo Planters, and others in the work.

Whether any satisfactory results are likely to be attained by endeavours to improve the breed of Sheep, I cannot venture to predict; but the subject will form matter for careful enquiry and experiment.

Questions have been circulated through the Collectors of the Districts to all those who are supposed competent to supply information on this subject, and much valuable information has already been collected.

VERNACULAR SCHOOL.

The primary object contemplated in this School is the instruction of the sons of the middling and lower classes in useful knowledge—knowledge that will aid them in the pursuits of life, give them rational subjects of thought and enquiry, and qualify them to *protect their rights* and fulfil their destinies as reasonable and intelligent beings.

To this end I propose that all instruction should, at all events for some time, be conveyed through the medium of the languages to which they are accustomed, *viz.* Oordoo and Hindec.

At first, therefore, the teaching will be confined to reading, writing, arithmetic and moral training; after a certain time, elementary education in the more useful Sciences can be added, and the standard raised, as the pupils progress.

My expectation is, that all those who enter the Institution with a view to instruction in the several branches of practical manipulative art, will, also, gladly take advantage of the instruction provided in the School, and, with the view to combine both kinds of Education, I would allow them during one portion of the day to attend the several Industrial Departments, and during the other portion to receive instruction in the School. Arrangements will be made for providing accommodation for all pupils who may come from a distance, on payment of a reasonable rent.

The studies which may be subsequently introduced will be carefully considered in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction and the Officers of the Educational Department.

One of the uses of the Museum will be to aid this School, by placing before the eyes of the boys such objects as, in the study of Natural Philosophy, may be mentioned or referred to.

With this view the Masters will be allowed, under certain restrictions, either to take articles from the Collection, or to bring the Students into the Museum, at stated times.

As I consider physical activity and the development of the bodily power of infinite importance, I propose to set apart a piece of ground for a Gymnasium and Play-ground, and, if possible, to encourage the Students to avail themselves of both, and thus acquire manly and active habits.

SCHOOL OF ARTS.

Although the cultivation of Art in the higher branches is not one of the urgent wants of Society in Behar, a commencement of elementary instruction in these branches will not be premature or unsuited to the capacity and prospects of many of the youths of the Province.

If, therefore, Masters can be procured, I propose at once to form a small Drawing and Modelling Class, and subsequently extend the instruction to Engraving on Wood, Works of Design, Photography, &c.

There are many youths about Patna who show a decided capacity for drawing, and who, under good instruction, would make rapid progress.

Architectural and Plan-drawing might be also profitably taught; but all such details will be the subject of future consideration, and the commencement will depend upon the practicability of procuring Teachers.

It is hoped that some of the more advanced pupils of the School in Calcutta or Madras may be qualified to teach the Elements of these Arts, until circumstances admit of more efficient agency.

MUSEUM.

The object of the "Museum" will be to collect specimens of all the natural products of the Province—Minerals, Earths, Medicinal Drugs, Woods, &c., &c., as

well as all Manufactured Articles of every description, with detailed and accurate information in regard to each.

These will be systematically arranged and classified as they are received; the price and place of manufacture will be affixed to each fabricated article, the place of growth or production to each natural object, while a catalogue will be kept of the whole collection from the commencement.

In process of time, doubtless, contributions will be received from other Districts, and a more general and comprehensive collection be amassed.

The practical utility of such a Museum can scarcely be doubted; it will tend to display, as well as to develop, the resources of the District; information in regard to all the products and fabrications will be readily obtained by all enquirers, and a subject of rational amusement and intellectual gratification will be at all times available to the Students of the Institution.

I propose to call upon all the local Officers, intelligent Natives, Planters, and other residents for aid and co-operation in the formation of this collection, and hope that in a very short time it will be replete with interest.

LIBRARY.

In forming a Library, my plan will be to purchase at once a few standard Works on the principal Arts and Sciences which appertain to the several branches of Instruction in the Institution, *i. e.*, Agriculture, Farming, Natural Philosophy, Agricultural Chemistry, &c. &c.

This will form the nucleus of a collection which may, by purchase and donation, be hereafter indefinitely extended.

I would, in the same way, buy a small collection of useful Oriental Works, with the same anticipation of future addition. ●

The Library, like the Museum, will be open on certain conditions to the Students of the School, and to such of the Public as may be qualified to profit by the use of the books.

I have little doubt that valuable and extensive donations will be made by the friends of Education, as the Institution becomes known, and I should hope that the Government would contribute copies of any Works that may be at their disposal. ●

INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT.

The manipulative dexterity of the natives has ever been a subject of admiration and eulogy, and the wonderful skill displayed in the imitation of European workmanship, even with the most coarse and common tools, is a never-failing source of wonder to the intelligent and observing.

This fact, admitted by all who most differ on other points, has led many to the conclusion that improvement of the tools, patterns, and modes of workmanship would *not* tend to raise the standard of work.

There is some truth and much error in this conclusion.

It may be very true that the native, whose body is as supple as a worm, and who has inherited a readiness of squatting from fifty generations—who can pick up a hammer with his toe, and hold a plank between his feet as firmly as in a vice—may not work any better with upright back at a bench, and may be embarrassed if debarred the use of his nether fingers; but this is no reason that sharper chisels, stronger saws, and more scientific modes of workmanship will not tend to still greater precision and rapidity of execution; that the constant inspection of good models with instruction in the principles of design and the elements of form may not (at least in *some* instances) give the mere servile imitator a higher and more enlarged capacity.

On this principle I intend to establish work-shops of every kind, and while I obtain from the hands of the artisans employed all the works required for the Establishment, I shall also endeavour gradually to introduce better tools and a better system.

ORPHAN ASYLUM.

The organization of this Institution will afford an excellent opportunity for the establishment of a charitable Orphan Asylum.

The object of this Asylum will be to afford food, shelter, and sound practical instruction to as many orphans and destitute children as the funds will admit of, and it is believed that such an Establishment will offer an appropriate channel for Christian charity.

If the majority of English residents in the Districts within this Division consent to aid this Scheme, even by a small monthly contribution, an ample provision may be made for hundreds of children, who would otherwise be brought up to misery, starvation, or crime.

The proposal is that a certain number of cottages should be built for the accommodation of the children, that they should receive suitable food and clothing under proper superintendence, and, when their ages admit of it, that they should obtain instruction in the several Departments of useful knowledge adapted to their capacities, and thus become useful and contented members of the community.

Such an Establishment will be a token to the world, that in the midst of our abundance we are not unmindful of the children of affliction, while, at the same time, the systematic devotion of the funds to a specific object will secure a greater amount of practical and permanent good than any separate or isolated efforts of benevolence could possibly achieve.

I must not omit to point out that, with an Institution of the character above indicated, with every description of instruction available, with Work-shops, Farm, Schools of Industry, Agriculture and Art, a Library and Museum for reference and illustration, the whole Establishment sustained by a liberal income,

and each Department efficiently supervised—a Machinery will be in existence admirably adapted for training up a body of Teachers in every branch of general knowledge and useful Industry, to meet the demands of the Education Department. Schools are now being established by the Rajahs and Zemindars under my superintendence in all the Districts of the Division, and it is of the utmost importance that Teachers should be trained to undertake the management of them.

A Central Normal School might be established in connection with this Institution, and if stipends be offered to the candidates while under instruction, and an assurance be given that, on their obtaining a Diploma, they will have a preferential title to employment—this desirable end will be secured, and a body of men may eventually be sent out, qualified to teach either in the common Vernacular Schools—or in branch Industrial Schools similar to the Parent Establishment.

PROTEST
AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Lieut.-Governor of Bengal,
IN THE MATTER OF THE
BEHAR INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION,

BY
W. T A Y L E R,
LATE COMMISSIONER OF PATNA.

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**Printed for Private Circulation.**  
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CALCUTTA:
JOHN GRAY, "CALCUTTA GAZETTE" OFFICE.

—
1857.

FROM

W. TAYLER, ESQUIRE,
Commissioner of Revenue, Patna,

TO

A. R. YOUNG, ESQUIRE,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
CALCUTTA.

Dated Patna, the June 1857.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to solicit the Lieutenant-Governor's grave consideration of the following pages, which I submit in no spirit of insubordination or cavil, but under a deep conviction that the subject is one which demands a careful and deliberate review.

2. They contain a protest, which, while it leaves the question under enquiry as respects *my* proceedings in regard to the Industrial Institution untouched, is directed solely to the course adopted by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from the time the reports, or representations, or charges, first reached him on which that enquiry was based.

3. The protest is submitted as a public duty, in justice to myself, to the whole Service of which I am a member, and to the interest of the people whom I ardently desire to serve.

4. I always wished to obtain the Patna Commissionership, because I always had the ambition, and believed that I should have the means of doing some permanent good to the people and the Province in which I had so long resided.

5. The principal means of effecting this good, I believed to be the assistance and co-operation of the rich Native Landholders, whose wealth is vast, and influence unbounded.

* This was written in June, but its submission delayed in consequence of the disturbances.—W. T.

6. I was no sooner in the appointment than I brought forward this belief, prominently and emphatically, and placed before the Lieutenant-Governor, more than once, and in the plainest and most unmistakeable terms, the principle and the procedure which I advocated, *viz. the employment of all my influence, personal and official, as Commissioner of the Division, to obtain the aid, influence, and co-operation of the great Landholders.* (*Vide Appendix A.*)

7. Quite as clearly and emphatically as I set forth these principles, were they approved by the Lieutenant-Governor; and on this very ground and basis, was the superintendence of the educational proceedings, as a special arrangement, vested in me.

8. In furtherance of this principle, and at my instance and request, numerous Schools, as is well known to the Lieutenant-Governor, are now in the course of establishment throughout Behar, at the cost of the Zemindars.

9. But I soon perceived, or fancied I perceived, that mere book-learning would never attract the sympathy of the people, and, after much thought and enquiry, I projected a scheme of popular education, which appeared to me suited to the wants and feelings of the "people," and which, at the same time, might form the *nucleus* and nursery of national advancement in useful Arts, Agriculture, and productive Industry.

10. The scheme is briefly sketched in a small Pamphlet lately circulated. (*Vide Appendix B.*)

11. To show that the project was one of some promise, and, therefore, one which I was at least justified in striving to carry out, I subjoin a few brief extracts from some of the letters of public Officers and others, of which many more are in my possession. (*Vide Appendix C.*)

12. I do this not for vanity or ostentation's sake, but to show that I had at least grounds for anticipating great good from the scheme proposed.

13. The project, in outline, was laid before the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of his visit to Patna in August last, and met

with warm and unqualified approval, since frequently repeated. (*Vide Appendix A.*)

14. I expressed then my anticipation of liberal assistance from the Rajahs and wealthy Zemindars, and the largest donation yet paid, *viz.* Rupees 20,000, from the Bettiah Rajah, was presented while Mr. Halliday was here, and he expressed personally to me his great satisfaction at the gift, using the words "20,000 Rupees are 20,000 Rupees, there is no doubt."

15. Subsequently, during my tour, which took place in the ensuing cold season, I mentioned the plan to all whom I saw, pointing out its objects and expected advantages, and freely and frankly asking all to give their aid in the organization of the scheme, which required large funds for its establishment.

16. In doing this, under the principle before laid down, and in accordance with all that had been done, said, and written again and again, I never scrupled to tell all with whom I conversed, that such an use of their money would be gratifying to me, and pleasing to the higher Authorities; that Government wished to see, and would always approve such an use of wealth; and that suitable acknowledgment would, doubtless, be made by the Lieutenant-Governor.

17. I challenge the most inveterate caviller to say, that beyond kind words and reasonable arguments, I have ever used any other means of persuasion; that I ever threatened or showed any displeasure or dissatisfaction towards those who declined to give, or made any distinction in my manner or treatment, private or official, between those who gave, or those who did not.

18. In using such means of persuasion, I could never dream that any cavil or objection could be raised against me; but to my astonishment I suddenly discovered, on the return from my circuit in March, that certain parties, behind my back, and without my knowledge, in no official form, and under no sense of official responsibility, had written to the Lieutenant-Governor, or to some of his Secretaries, decrying my scheme, misrepresenting my motives, and stating that there was "wide-spread alarm, excitement, and dissa-

tisfaction" among the Natives, in consequence of the subscriptions to the Institution.

And here commences the procedure against which I conceive it my duty to protest.

19. Acting on this information, without producing the letters, without giving me time or opportunity to offer any explanation, the Lieutenant-Governor issued a Proclamation, setting forth the views of Government in regard to subscription for works of public usefulness.

20. I do not venture to raise any objection to this course of procedure in the abstract, as doubtless a Governor can always promulgate his opinions on any subject; but I cannot refrain from protesting respectfully, but earnestly, against the terms of the Proclamation itself.

These, I venture to say, are—

Firstly.—Opposed to common sense, reason, and experience.

Secondly.—Inconsistent with the acts and sentiments of Government generally.

Thirdly.—Diametrically opposed to the special acts and sentiments of the Lieutenant-Governor during the last three years.

Fourthly.—Fatal to all future works of charity, benevolence, and usefulness, and a bar and impediment to progress and civilization in India.

Fifthly.—Injurious in the last degree to myself personally, and to my influence for good in my Division as Commissioner.

21. These are grave words, and involve grave considerations; but it is chiefly on this account that I conceive myself called upon to make this protest.

22. I will proceed to prove each statement I have advanced.

23. The Proclamation lays down, among other points, the rule, that no subscriptions, unless perfectly spontaneous and disinterested, will be acceptable; that if subscribers have given from any idea that the Government *wishes* them to do so, they are "very wrong," and will have acquired no credit with Government or the country by subscriptions not founded on real liberality; and again,

that "Government will give no encouragement to any selfish or interested objects."

24. *First*.—I hold that these sentiments are opposed to common sense, reason, and experience, because it is an established moral truth, that, in this fallen world, very few, even among the best of men, perform purely disinterested actions, and fewer still give money perfectly of their own free will and without any admixture of selfish or interested motives; but in regard to Natives, I may safely state this to be the case, because hundreds of themselves (and all talk freely with me on the subject) have told me, that to give money without some idea of recompense or advantage in some shape or other, would be looked at by them as the act of a madman or a fool.

25. It is needless to accumulate arguments to establish this truth, but I would merely observe, that if this be the Lieutenant-Governor's view, it was unnecessary for His Honor to hold out as a motive and inducement to subscribers (as he has frequently done) the promise of *Khooshnoodee Perwannahs* to those who should subscribe liberally.

26. *Second*.—That it is inconsistent with the acts and sentiments of Government generally, is clear from the fact that, for many years past, under the direct sanction and encouragement of Government, inducements have been held out, approbation and favor promised, and even titles bestowed as a reward, for the liberal expenditure of money on Public Works, and because, at this moment, in the North-Western Provinces, if not in Bengal, the same system is extensively pursued.

27. But to advance a striking case in point and settle this question at once, I beg to state that, when the Rajah of Hutwa applied for his title and expressed his willingness to make a donation in consideration thereof, he was told by the Secretary to the Governor General, that on payment of Rupees 50,000 for the purpose of education, the distinction would be bestowed upon him. I do not myself uphold such direct purchases of honor, but only mention it as a fact.

28. The arrangement was made at the instance of the then Commissioner, Mr. C. Tucker.

29. *Third.*—That it is diametrically opposed to the special acts and sentiments of the Lieutenant-Governor during the last three years, I shall have no difficulty in proving.

30. When the Lieutenant-Governor visited Arrah, he authorized me, with his own lips, to promise *Neeknamee Perwannahs*, under his own seal and signature, to all who subscribed a certain sum for the Dispensary, mentioning that this had been found to be “a very good plan at Chuprah:” they were *promised* accordingly, and all those who gave Rupees 200, received this valuable document.

31. Again, on the occasion of the Lieutenant-Governor’s visit to Behar, His Honor had a speech read out on his behalf, in which are these words:—“It is incumbent on all here present in this assembly to give your money freely and liberally for this good work, that so you may be entered in the list of good-doers, and I may in exchange give you *Khooshnoodee Perwannahs*.”

32. Did not these words, uttered on behalf of the Lieutenant-Governor himself, in full assembly, not only contain an *injunction to give*, but also a *promise* and *inducement*?

33. Can it be said that those who, under such an exhortation and promise, gave their money, gave it spontaneously and without any motive or desire, or that the Government did not wish them to give?

34. Again, when I consulted the Lieutenant-Governor as to whether Baboo Modenarain’s object, the acquisition of a title, was within the range of hope, what was His Honor’s answer?—“What has he done? Hetnarain has given land, &c., but except his donation at Gya for the Library, I do not think he (Modenarain) has given any thing!!”

35. Yet, when acting on this very obvious suggestion, the man does make a liberal donation with the view of establishing a character for generosity, the Proclamation tells him, that if he has any interested object in view, his money is not acceptable, and the object will not be encouraged!

36. It were easy to multiply instances, but I imagine I have said enough to prove the third position.

37. *Fourth.*—That the sentiments laid down by the Lieutenant-Governor are fatal to all future improvements, is a necessary *sequitur* to my first position.

38. If I am right in saying, that no Natives give their money spontaneously, or from purely disinterested motives (excepting only on religious works), then the conditions of the Proclamation at once dam up the source of all future contributions, render it impossible even to make application for aid, condemn all the works that have been, at any time, accomplished through the pecuniary assistance of the Natives, and stop all such works for all future time ; and as Government never grant funds for such purposes, there is no other prospect or hope of progress.

39. I now come to the last statement, which appertains specially to my status and influence as Commissioner.

40. As above stated, in accordance with the principles I had advocated, and with the practice that had hitherto obtained, I received liberal subscriptions from the great Rajahs, Landholders, and others to this national work, and never scrupled to hold out to them all the motives and inducements which are always made use of on such occasions.

41. The Proclamation at once cut the ground from under me, and proclaimed to the whole Province that I had misled the subscribers and misrepresented the sentiments of the Lieutenant-Governor ; that if the subscribers gave their money under the idea that GOVERNMENT WISHED it (the dashes are in the original), their money was not acceptable ; that if they had any interested, or selfish motive or object, it would not be furthered ; that unless “spontaneous” and disinterested, Rupees are to be rejected.

42. I appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor, whether the effect of such sentiments were not directly calculated to contradict and falsify all I had said and done, to condemn all subscriptions hitherto raised, and cast disgrace and discredit upon me. Would any one have been surprised if, under such an announcement, there had been an immediate run upon the Bank of the Institu-

tion, and each subscriber had requested the return of his money thus uselessly expended ?

43. Take the case of Baboo Modenarain. I had told him of my consultation with the Lieutenant-Governor ; of the tenor and purport of the answer ; and by my advice, given in consequence of the Lieutenant-Governor's obvious interrogative—"What has he given?" he offered his liberal donation. What must *he* have thought of me, when he read this notice, but that I had deceived him and misrepresented the Lieutenant-Governor's sentiments ? and so with all the subscribers, according to the different circumstances.

44. Thus much for the Proclamation.

45. I now proceed to the subsequent measures adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor.

46. Having, by this Proclamation, widely promulgated throughout all the Districts, placed me in the position of an impostor, who had given assurances to one man for which I had no warrant, told another what was not true, and thus raised money on false pretences ; without waiting to learn the result of the Proclamation, without heeding the repeated assurances made on my responsibility as Commissioner of the Division, that the Natives, so far from being alarmed and excited, were highly pleased with my project, and anxious to carry it through (a fact that is now proved), and that the alarm and discontent were confined to the breasts of five or six English gentlemen, hostile to my scheme, and possessing very limited means of information, the Lieutenant-Governor next directed an enquiry.

47. This enquiry was committed to the Judges, who were ordered, after consultation with the Magistrate and any one else they chose to ask, to report—

First.—On the effect of the Proclamation, and

Secondly.—On the truth of the alleged fact, that alarm, discontent, and dissatisfaction existed in the mind of the Native Gentry.

48. The enquiry has been completed, and unfair as I cannot but feel the proceeding has been towards me, I am perfectly satisfied with the result on the real question at issue : when my com-

ments on the Judges' Reports, with their enclosures, are sent in, I feel satisfied, that what I have throughout maintained will be as clear as day, viz. that the opposition is the opposition of a few Englishmen, the alarm, discontent, and dissatisfaction of the Natives are mere imaginary bugbears.

49. It is not, therefore, with the *result*,* but with the *mode and principle* of the enquiry, that I feel aggrieved, and for these reasons ; although I have not been allowed to know the names of my accusers, and as I cannot therefore speak with absolute certainty as to the authorship of the letters written to Government, I think I may safely assume, that several of the Judges to whom this enquiry was committed, had either directly or indirectly expressed, if not recorded, their opinions, and thus pre-judged the case.

50. Now it appears to me, that in conducting an enquiry of this kind, great care should have been taken to provide that the parties to whom the investigation was committed, should be, themselves, impartial and unbiassed, and, above all, that none of those who had, in private letters to the Secretaries or others, brought any charge or imputations against me, should be entrusted with the duty of investigation.

51. As matters have been conducted, however, several of such parties who may be called quasi-plaintiffs have been constituted judges of their own case, with all the power, though without the responsibility of the office.

52. But still further, these quasi-plaintiff judges have been allowed the liberty of selecting their own witnesses, and thus of bringing into Court those who, they knew, would substantiate their statements, and who had already joined in the cry against me.

53. Thus we have plaintiffs for judges, co-plaintiffs as witnesses, and the defendant out of Court !

54. But, not content with these advantages, the Judge of Patna has adopted a still more singular and unfair device against me.

55. In contravention of all rule, precedent, and practice, and at variance with the mode adopted by all the other Judges, Mr.

Farquharson has invited his witnesses, not only to give their evidence in respect of their own District, regarding which they may have been supposed to have some reliable information, but regarding the other Districts of the Division, touching which they could know nothing save from hearsay gossip or scandal.

56. I remonstrated with Mr. Farquharson himself when I heard he was going to do this.

57. I remonstrated warmly with the Lieutenant-Governor, but was myself censured for bringing charges against others.

58. The consequence has been, that those gentlemen, who are known to be opposed to me and my educational schemes, have had the privilege allowed them (of which they have zealously availed themselves) of heaping on my devoted head all the idle tales, slanders, and gossips, which they have scraped together, with an *animus* that cannot be mistaken, but with no foundation of truth, as will be shown when my rejoinder is submitted.

59. Under this strange and unusual procedure, my proceedings have been pronounced upon by Mookhtars, Vakeels, Sub-Deputy Opium Agents, Magistrates of a year's standing, and other subordinates ! !

60. I submit whether it was right to place the highest Officer of this important Province in such a degrading position ; whether I had done any thing to deserve such treatment ; whether some reparation ought not to be made to me for this indignity.

61. My fault, if I have committed any, has been, at the worst, *enthusiasm* in a good cause, with a noble aim, a work approved by the best and the wisest, an ardent desire to benefit the people.

62. Fortified by the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, and, as I have shown, regulating my proceedings by principles universally recognized, clearly laid down, and as clearly approved, using no improper persuasion or influence, I find myself suddenly prostrated by a Proclamation which undermines and stultifies all I have done, and exhibits me to the world as an impostor and a charlatan !

63. I am next degraded in the eyes of my own subordinates and the whole Province, my accusers made my judges, and the common Pleaders of the Court invited to pronounce a verdict on my conduct ; all who envy or dislike, encouraged to vent their ill-feeling against me.

64. Against these proceedings, I take the liberty of submitting my earnest and solemn protest.

65. I submit it, because the whole case appears to me to involve serious and important consequences, connected with the welfare and prospects of the country, the safety of Officers who devote themselves to the good of the people, and thereby do something to turn their hearts towards us, and to my own character, position, and power, for good, as Commissioner of this Province.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

W. TAYLER,

Commissioner of Revenue.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONER OF PATNA TO
THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, DATED
29TH APRIL 1857, No. 2112 A.

106. ALMOST immediately after I was appointed to this Commissionership, I addressed the Lieutenant-Governor, at a time when there was much disaffection and excitement, and when the efforts of the Educational Officers were met by a systematic opposition that baffled all their efforts and brought the Department into contempt.

107. On that occasion, I thus expressed myself in a demi-official letter to Mr. Halliday:—"As to the Education scheme, I doubt very much whether the *"mind of the mass will ever be reached by Government or by Government Officers direct; the men that are sent out into the Mofussil by the Inspector will be for years regarded with mistrust and suspicion (they already apply the term 'shaitance' to the office). The efforts and intentions of Government are utterly misunderstood, and the greater the expense incurred, the higher the salaries bestowed, the greater is the suspicion excited. The result would be far different, if we could penetrate the mass through those to whom they look up as their leaders—I mean the influential Landholders; the very same measures that, coming from Government Officers, would excite suspicion and uneasiness, would, if supported and set on foot by the Landholders and their lessees, be hailed with satisfaction and unscrupulously concurred in; and when this is accomplished, and there is something to inspect, Inspectors will be reasonable. The great problem is, how is the co-operation of the Landholders to be secured, and this is no doubt the difficulty; yet it is beyond all doubt and controversy the one essential to the success of the scheme, and all efforts without such co-operation will but be 'heating the air' and utter vanity. I have ever found the respectable natives ready and willing to enter into all reasonable views when they were reasonably expounded and patiently explained, not by public notices or through red-tape subordinates, but in friendly and unreserved conversation. It is by personal communication, considerate reasoning, and careful argument, that their prejudices are removed and their minds impressed, and it is by personal kindness that their hearts, like all human hearts, are touched. But this is evidently not the work of a day, they are not unlike children, and momentary impressions and partial convictions must be maintained and strengthened by repeated and unintermitting influences."*

108. These sentiments were honored with the marked approbation of the Lieutenant-Governor, who thus expressed his opinion :—

“ The Lieutenant-Governor considers that you deserve credit for the early and accurate manner in which you have ascertained the feelings of the people in your Division, and he has observed with pleasure that you keep yourself constantly alive to the state of the native mind around you, and that you take pains to communicate with the people and to carry with you their sympathies, as well as their understandings. Where such is the habit of the chief local functionary, the evils so truly described in the 17th para. of your letter may to a great extent be mitigated.”

109. A short time before this, at a very dangerous and eventful crisis, when in a neighbouring District the authority of Government and the local Officers was defied by a mob, the happy effect of this good and kindly understanding between myself and the native gentry was felt at Arrah, where the principal Zemindars assisted me in guarding the Jail, and one went in with me among the mal-content prisoners and exerted his personal influence to appease them.

110. On this occasion, the Government publicly recorded their thanks to me in the following words :—“ I am instructed by the Lieutenant-Governor to express to you his warm acknowledgments for the prompt and very useful assistance which, from Mr. Drummond's Reports, it is evident he received at your hands after the disturbance had broken out.

“ The Lieutenant-Governor is indeed disposed to attribute mainly to the effect of your presence at Arrah, and to your personal influence with those leading personages of the Town and District, who are named in Mr. Drummond's Reports, the circumstance that at Arrah no open expression of feeling was manifested beyond the precincts of the Jail.”

111. Nearly a year afterwards, when further trial proved the abortiveness of the usual educational measures, I again came forward and offered my assistance, on the express ground of *my influence with the native gentry*, and *my confidence* that, by the exercise of *that influence*, I could induce them to establish Schools at their own cost in the principal towns of their estates.

112. I subjoin an extract from the letter written on that occasion to the Director of Public Instruction, to which, as well as to the *whole* papers, I solicit special and careful attention.

113. Referring to the plan that I proposed as the only plan likely to be successful in the spread of Education in Behar, I observed, after quoting the sentiments transcribed in para. 107 of this letter :—

“ The experience of each successive day has served to strengthen my conviction of this truth.

“ I have already been in communication with the principal landholders of the four Districts in this Division, and received from them assurances of support and co-operation, of which I do not myself doubt the sincerity, and which I

"strongly feel would, if afforded, wondrously facilitate at least, if not ensure, the accomplishment of your purpose.

"But I feel that to secure and maintain such co-operation and support, it is indispensable that all the means at the disposal of Government, official and personal, be brought to bear on the minds of these individuals, and this I am convinced cannot be done, either by yourself, Mr. Chapman, or any other Public Officer, however zealous, able or devoted, unless he hold that local 'status' in the District, which alone bears weight in the native mind. Indeed, they already designate Mr. Chapman as the '*Chota Padree*,' a significant soubriquet, which speaks volumes to those who know the native mind; of yourself, they have a dim idea as an unseen '*Burra Padree*,' with whom they have no concern. Holding this view, I believe that this end can best be effected by the Commissioner as the highest authority in the Province, and even by him, only by an entire devotion of his best energies to the work and by the employment of all the means at his disposal.

"I am aware that some people have raised objections to the exercise of official influence in any save purely official matters, but in this feeling I cannot and never could concur.

"The natives of Behar are extremely like children, and if knowledge is to be administered to them, it must be done by gentle compulsion. Convinced as we are, and must be, that ignorance is the great source and cause of the degradation of the people, is it not our imperative duty and high privilege, (for the use or abuse of which we are answerable before God,) to raise them from the 'thick darkness' in which they are now lying? and if we have the means of effecting this great and holy purpose, is it not woe to us, if we do not use them to the utmost?"

114. On the grounds and principles thus distinctly and emphatically recorded, I propose that the educational operations should be placed under my superintendence.

115. The proposal was approved by the Director and sanctioned by the Government in the following words:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor has read with much interest the correspondence thus submitted for his consideration; he cordially approves the zealous and judicious plan of operation so ably recommended by Mr. Tayler, and supported by your own judgment; and he authorizes you at once to adopt and set in action the measures proposed in the 4th and 5th paras. of your letter under reply."

116. Lastly, on the occasion of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit at Patna in August 1856, His Honor again recorded the memorable words:—

"The establishment of Village Schools in their Zemindary, which, by the judiciously used influence and encouragement of the Commissioner, is about to be undertaken, or has already partly been entered upon by certain great Zemin-

“dars in Patna, Behar, Shahabad, and Chuprah, is of the highest importance. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Tayler, that it is of *infinite moment to enlist on the side of Vernacular Education all powerful and influential Zemindars of the Province of Behar*, and to have done this will be, on Mr. Tayler's part, one of the greatest services to the cause of Education that could possibly be rendered, and will redound to his credit in all parts of the Province;” and again, I congratulate Mr. Tayler on the great field he has before him, and on the excellent spirit in which he is beginning to work upon it. I augur nothing but credit to himself and benefit to the people from the gradual development of his plans and purposes.

“I would transmit a copy of this paper to Mr. Tayler, as the best evidence that I do not lightly consider his exertions, and that I desire to encourage him to advance and prosper.”

(True Extract)

(Signed) W. TAYLER,

Commissioner.

APPENDIX C.

Tirhoot, 28th May 1857.

MY DEAR ———,—I am much obliged to you for sending me Mr. Tayler's Circular and Pamphlet.

I consider the scheme, inasmuch as relates to instruction in Agriculture, an admirable one. This Institution, by giving practical instruction in farming, by teaching the use of manures, by introducing new and cheap implements of husbandry, and by improving the breed of cattle, will effect much good. I think the Institution well worthy of the co-operation of every Planter in the country, and it will afford me much pleasure to assist in any way I am able in this part of the District in carrying out Mr. Tayler's views, &c. &c.

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) J. STALKART.

Hursingpore, 22nd April 1857.

To

W. TAYLER, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Pamphlet regarding the Behar Industrial School, and to express my approbation of the scheme proposed by you. The Behar Industrial School will, in my opinion, do much to improve this if properly carried out, and I shall be most happy to give any assistance in my power to the scheme.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) CHAS. STRACHAN.

Pandool, 14th April 1857.

MY DEAR ———,—I am much gratified at the receipt of your letter; you are perfectly correct. I wish every success to Tayler's scheme. I am very confident that, if he is able to carry it out, he will confer a lasting benefit upon the country and the people. I hope he won't be deterred from the good work by the idle jealousy and envy of parties going about, not only decrying the motives, but regularly canvassing among the natives, to induce them not to subscribe—nay, going further and urging them to say that what they have subscribed has been taken from them through fear. All this must be a labour of love. I can understand a man not thinking sanguinely of the success of the scheme; but why take pains to thwart a good design, and that too not openly, when argument might refute their dogmas, but covertly "*cui bono*"?

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) J. GALE.

To

W. TAYLER, Esq.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM J. MACRAE, Esq.

I AM in receipt of your Circular and Pamphlet, forwarded to me by Mr. ———, describing the object of the Behar Industrial Institution. Every proper-minded European and Native must wish this Institution the most complete success.

To

W. TAYLER, Esq.

Arrah, 5th April 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for the perusal of the papers connected with the School of Industry.

If I were to enumerate the blessings it would confer on the Province of Behar, my letter would exceed the limits I have assigned to it.

Allow me to assure you that, if your well-concerted scheme succeeds, which it must under your able guidance, it would work a change in the destiny of India, and bring it to a level with the most civilized countries on the face of the Globe.

Persevere, my dear Sir, with the same philanthropic spirit which has prompted you to undertake this vast scheme of improvement, and success will attend you in every step which you take to carry it out.

I was highly disgusted to see some scandalous letters published in the *Englishman*. Let not the base malice of the enemies to the amelioration of India, divert you from your noble pursuit and let the enemy have the mortification to see, that the seed you have sown has become a tree, the wholesome fruits of which are destined for India to reap.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) SYED AZIMOODDEEN H. KHAN.

Calcutta, 4th April 1857.

MY DEAR TAYLER,—I received your Pamphlet on Industrial Education, and read it with much interest. All the objects which you propose to attain by the establishment of an Industrial Institution are most excellent, and I sincerely hope that your experiment may be attended with all the success you could desire. * * * * I do not mention these things, however, by way of discouragement. Far from it. I think your object is a very noble one, and one which must secure you the sympathy and good wishes of every philanthropic mind. I say, therefore, go on and pay no heed to idle or envious clamours. Even if your experiment fails, it cannot but do some good while it lasts in awakening

the native mind. * * * * I should apologise, however, for venturing to make my suggestions on the details of a measure which you have doubtless studied far more deeply than I have. I shall say nothing further than that I shall take a warm interest in the success of your scheme, and trust to see it live down the doubts of those who think least hopefully of it.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) E. A. SAMUELS.

Calcutta, 14th March 1857.

MY DEAR TAYLER,—Your design is a good one, and I heartily wish it success.

[Here follows Mr. Beadon's views on Education generally, which differ from mine to some extent.]

Still I am the last person to discourage any attempt for the improvement of the people of this country, and I shall be truly rejoiced if you have discovered the method of enlisting their sympathy and co-operation in the work of their own regeneration.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) CECIL BEADON.

Mozzufferpore.

MY DEAR TAYLER, - I view the establishment of the Industrial Institution at Patna with great interest. I know of no measure for the general improvement of the country, and for ameliorating the condition of the people, which can match with it for comprehensiveness and practical utility. Individual efforts, of which many have made at different times, seldom succeed for want of system, combination, and unity of purpose, and when successful, the benefit is confined to small localities, for want of means of recording and making known the results to the public. Your scheme, embracing a wide range of action, is so systematically planned, that all experiments will be carried out conjointly, and also for a sufficient length of time, to admit of accurate conclusions being adduced from results, and the provision you have made for publishing for general information all the operations carried on in the Institution will create enquiry and competition, and thus secure the object you have in view. It was very thoughtful of you, therefore, before commencing the extensive operations you contemplated, to lay a sure basis for their success, by providing sufficient funds, and it speaks much for the intelligence and liberality of the wealthy Native Gentry of the Division, that they have supported you so willingly and well.

Yours very sincerely,

W. R. DAVIES.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE HON'BLE F. J. HALLIDAY.

I HAVE a great value for your plan, and think it may become a thing of vast importance. At all events, I look upon it, that the idea is a creditable one, creditable to you as the originator, and one of which I shall be proud to "partake the triumph and pursue the gale."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A. LITLEDALE, Esq.

I AM much obliged for your kind note, and have been greatly interested in reading all your plans for the Industrial Institution, which indeed, I hope, will succeed; but you must remain up in these parts to look after it yourself.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR NATION.

I RETURN your scheme with many thanks for allowing me a perusal of it. There is little doubt but that you will succeed in due course of time; the funds are large enough, and on a lasting basis. I hope you will succeed entirely in every Department.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE HON'BLE J. R. COLVIN.

YOUR schemes are sure to turn to some considerable good, when you have nearly two lakhs of Rupees to work them with. I look with most hope to your Vernacular School and your Industrial Department. It is through such efforts, and through many failures, that we may in all ways finally achieve some real success.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM J. MACLEOD, Esq.

A BEGINNING in the right direction has been made, and I have every hope the impetus which has been thus acquired is flying forward, and knowing the difficulties which beset every effort of this kind, however judiciously planned and honestly worked out, there is yet much to congratulate on the measure of success that has already attended your benevolent exertions. The day I trust is not far distant, when the desires and yearnings of the population for instruction and improvement in all industrial operations will be so extensive as to repay you for all the worth and anxiety that now attend your efforts.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM W. TANNER, Esq., MERCHANT.

I THINK the Commissioner's move is one that is quite in the right direction, if the Authorities of the country generally would follow his steps, and by setting an example and showing a desire to see improvement introduced, stimulate people to bestowing attention to matters that are now, I may say, never thought of. I have no doubt that much good will flow from it, and that governors and the governed would all benefit.

LETTER FROM MAJOR HOLMES, COMMANDING IRREGULAR
CAVALRY AT SEGOWLEE.

MY DEAR TAYLER,—I find it hard to express the real pleasure I have felt in the perusal of the papers connected with the Industrial Institution.

The whole thing comes on me like the accomplishment of a long-cherished dream.

It has been said that few things give more pleasure than the accurate expression of our own thoughts and feelings, and I have frequently felt the truth of this in going over these papers.

The plans and schemes I have long dwelt on for the amelioration of this, the country of my adoption, are no longer Utopian, and my liveliest aspirations find in this a local habitation.

I have already expressed to you my ideas on the first necessity of a sound practical, rather than a theoretical education—on the necessity of educating the body and the hand, before we attempt to give a high finish and polish to the mind.

If this your great work is allowed free course, and carried out with steady patience, perseverance, and industry, not deterred by little failures and the cavilling of the crowd, (for without these no great scheme has ever been brought to perfection,) I am strongly persuaded that such a success will follow as has never yet been attained by any similar enterprize—(I will not say in India, for no like work has yet been attempted in India) but—in the whole world.

As a practical proof of my strong approbation of your scheme, may I request your acceptance of a Merino Ram and four Merino Ewes imported from the Cape for the Agricultural and Pastoral Department, and to your Orphan Asylum, I would gladly transfer two parentless children of six and eight years, with 50 Rupees per annum to be paid by me, until their education enable them to provide for themselves.

Should I happily be able to assist your scheme at any time with my individual exertions, I need hardly say they will be most heartily at your service.

LETTER FROM DR. MOUAT, DATED MOTEHARRY, 3RD FEB-
RUARY 1857.

MY DEAR TAYLER,—I have gone through the papers which you kindly sent me, with the interest of one who has for many years advocated similar views, but was not so fortunately placed as you are for carrying them into effect.

The outline of your plan is complete and admits of no addition, the details will necessarily work themselves out, as the Institution gradually expands. I hope you will print all these papers as a small Pamphlet for general distri-

bution, and if I can aid you in Calcutta or elsewhere, my poor services are entirely at your command. I have no hesitation in declaring my belief, that if fully and fairly carried out, and developed to the extent of what it is susceptible, the blessings capable of being conferred in your Province by your plan will not be surpassed by those of any great measure yet conceived and executed for the benefit of those entrusted by Providence to the Rules of Great Britain.

With the most hearty wishes for your entire success, I am, &c.

LETTER FROM E. E. WOODCOCK, Esq., COLLECTOR OF PATNA.

MY DEAR TAYLER,—You ask the expression of my written opinion regarding your Industrial Institution, to which I most cheerfully respond.

Overwhelmed with official business, to have revolved in your mind plans for the improvement of the Division committed to your charge, such as those proposed in your brief sketch, redound in no small measure to your reputation for extensive philanthropy, enlightened zeal, and good judgment.

To arouse the energies of a people, and to multiply the paths of industry, are no doubt objects of a noble ambition, and seem only to require time, patience, and perseverance to secure your ultimate success. At present you can hardly be said to have entered the threshold, but rather to be laying the foundation; yet you have had the happiness of securing the cordial approbation of the Government, the encouragement of wise men, and last not least the sympathy of the Natives. You have certainly met with a little detraction, but then what great and good object was ever accomplished without it? Whoever dares to travel out of the beaten track, to lead and not to follow, must be prepared to meet a storm of obliquy, besides every and every other species of opposition, concealed or open. I hope, therefore, you will not for a moment allow yourself to be discouraged, but go on and prosper, taking for your motto the words—*Homo Sum Nihil humani a me alienum puto*.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. THOMSON.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with great interest the Prospectus of the Behar Industrial Institution, which you have been so obliging as to send me. It seems to be an excellently devised scheme, and with ample funds, which you say are already provided, must be productive of great benefits to the people of the Province.

It will afford me much pleasure to do anything in my power to forward so useful a project.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM RAMAPERSHAD ROY.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you a hasty note immediately on my arrival, which I hope has reached you.

I have been anxiously expecting to receive from you a copy of the paper you are drawing out, containing your views in detail in regard to the different Departments of the proposed Industrial School at Patna. I saw ——— since my return, and told him what you are about, and what a glorious thing the School will be. I saw ——— and explained to him the outline of the plan. Unfortunately, I cannot get much assistance from him, as he is shortly going away from Calcutta, and is to be permanently stationed at Kishennugger. I spoke to ——— about it, and he was quite struck with the greatness and utility of the measure.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REVEREND J. LONG.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Gordon Young showed me a few days ago your proposal on the subject of Agricultural Education; they are very good, and I trust you will meet with every encouragement.

The subject is one to which my mind has been directed for several years past, and the Sub-Committee of the Agri-Horticultural Society, who have had several Meetings lately on the subject, have sent in a Report on the subject.

If you would put yourself in communication with the Secretary of that Society, and send him a copy of your proposals, it would be very useful—the address is A. Blechynden, Esq., Secretary of the Agri-Horticultural Society, Calcutta.

I hope you will not be discouraged by ignorant remarks, to the effect that knowledge cannot improve agriculture, that idea has long since been exploded in England.

Until some of the leading principles of Agriculture is taught in Schools in this country, as they are in France and Germany, it can never make much progress.

LETTER FROM J. W. GARSTIN, Esq.

MY DEAR TAYLER,—Excuse my having kept the papers so long. I have read them over very carefully, and am not in the least surprised that you should meet with such ready assistance from the Natives and all who take the slightest interest in their welfare. The beginning may be rather up-hill work, but I have not the slightest doubt that you will eventually succeed, and that the Model Farm will prove a blessing to the country, and be merely the first of its kind. If at any time I could aid your project in the slightest degree, you can always command my services.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR HOLMES.

Dated 26th May 1857.

You *must not* give up the Institution. It will come out of the fire, all the brighter for persecution.

We must and shall carry it through. Nothing is impossible to a determined will.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR HOLMES.

Dated 8th June 1857.

Don't give in a jot about the Institution, it is good throughout, both in principle and practice, and it *must* and *shall* succeed.

(True Copies and Extracts)

W. TAYLER,

Commissioner.

APPENDIX D.

RESULT OF ENQUIRY.

POINT TO BE ASCERTAINED

Whether there be any discontent, alarm, or dissatisfaction in the minds of the Native Gentry relative to the Subscriptions raised for the

BEHAR INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION.

CONTENTS.	NON-CONTENTS.
<i>i. e. Those who have recorded their opinions that there is no alarm, dissatisfaction, or discontent.</i>	<i>Those who have recorded their opinions that there is alarm, discontent, or dissatisfaction.</i>

S H A H A B A D.

Mr. Littledale.

„ Swinton.

„ Wake.

„ Field.

Synd Azimooddeen.

Mr. S. DeCosta.

The Principal Sudder Ameen.

„ Sudder Ameen.

Mr. E. B. Godfrey.

„ W. C. Costly.

Maharajah of Doornraon.

Kooer Sing.

Shah Kubeeroodeen.

*And a large body of the respectable
Natives, Zemindars, Mahajuns,
Vakeels, Moktears, &c.*

Nemo.

N. B.—Not only do all deny the existence of dissatisfaction, but many speak with indignation of the malicious motives in which the misrepresentation originated, express their *high* approbation of the scheme, and their anxiety for its continuance and success !

B È H A R.

Mr. S. Tayler.

„ H. Davies.

„ Worsely.

The Principal Sudder Ameen.

„ Sudder Ameen.

„ Moonsiff.

Colonel Knyvett.

Pundit Ramnarain, *Deputy Collector*.

Moulvee Sulanatoollah, *Ditto*.

Mr. Hollings.

Dr. Allen.

Mr. Solano.

And a large body of Natives.

NOTE.—Mr. T. C. Trotter thinks there *may have been some anxiety* to escape being asked for subscriptions.

All the other Officers and individuals distinctly and emphatically deny the existence of any dissatisfaction or alarm whatever, and many speak with indignation and contempt of the malicious origin of the report.

P A T N A.

Mr. Woodcock, *Collector*.

„ Lindsay, *Assistant*.

„ Knott, *Deputy Collector*.

„ C. E. Davies.

„ Major Nation, *Supdt. of Thuggee*.

Baboo Neelcomul Seal, *Deputy Collector*.

Additional Principal Sudder Ameen.

Maharajah Bhoop Sing.

The Vakeels of the Civil Court.

A large body of respectable Natives, consisting of those who had subscribed and those who had not, and some 500 of the Towns-people, who presented a petition to Government.

* Messrs. Garrett, Elliott, Farquharson, and Lewis.

Mr. King.

* *N. B.*—The four first of these gentlemen form the original clique; three of them attack the whole scheme with the greatest bitterness and animosity—but with all their influence, and spite of all their exertions, they have utterly failed in substantiating their statements. *Vide* their letters and my rejoinders.

The fact is, that all their information was derived from a few double-faced natives, who suited their tales to the minds of the hearers.

S A R U N.

Mr. Hitchens, <i>Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, Moteharee.</i>	Mr. J. R. Richardson.
„ Paghe, <i>Ditto at Chuprah.</i>	—
„ Raikes, <i>Joint Magistrate.</i>	Dr. Fleming.*
„ DeMeiss, <i>Indigo Planter.</i>	Mr. Martin.
„ J. R. Anderson, <i>Ditto.</i>	„ McDonell.
„ McDonell, <i>Sub-Depty. Opium Agent.</i>	
„ Lynch, <i>Deputy Magistrate.</i>	
„ K. McLeod, <i>Indigo Planter.</i>	
„ J. Macleod, <i>Deputy Collector.</i>	
„ Garstin, <i>Superintendent of Roads</i>	
The Moonsiff of Pursah.	
Rajah of Bettiah.	
<i>And all other Native Subscribers.</i>	
The Principal Sudder Ameen.	
„ Sudder Ameen.	
„ Moonsiff of Sewan.	
„ Law Officer.	

* *N. B.*—The few gentlemen of Chuprah, who say there was dissatisfaction—(none venture to say there was “alarm or excitement”)—seem simply to refer to the “anxiety which Mr. Martin says is not confined to Asiatics” where their pockets are concerned, and to, a certain degree of “unpopularity,” owing to a *mistaken* notion that Ramzan Ali, an unpopular native, was employed by me as an agent. Precisely the same feeling of dissatisfaction or uneasiness would be found to exist, *wherever* subscriptions are raised.

Vide Mr. Martin's Report—*none* impugn *my* measures.

T I R H O O T.

Mr. H. C. Richardson, <i>Magistrate.</i>	Mr. E. F. Lautour and Forbes.
„ W. R. Davies, <i>Deputy Collector.</i>	
„ W. Robertson.	
„ J. Gale.	
„ C. Gale.	
<i>And many other Indigo Planters.</i>	

NOTE.—Messrs. Simpson, Urquhart, Weston, and DaCosta state that there was some dissatisfaction excited in this District, but none of them say that it was caused by anything *I* did; but by the unwise and unauthorized act of a single Native, Cazeo Ramzan Ali, who went to Tirhoot and drew out a *list* from *his own fancy*, affixing imaginary sums to the names!!

This has been *fully* explained in the Correspondence, and I have shown that directly I heard of this unauthorized act, I took *all the means* in my power to counteract the

effects and explain to everybody that no one was expected to subscribe against their wish or inclination.

When the Subscription for a Library at Gya was raised, on the occasion of Mr. Halliday's visit, a representation was made to him, that the subscribers were unwilling to give the money ; but because no one came forward in person, (which of course they would not do,) the representation was set aside, and Mr. Halliday, in a public assembly, told all the people, that it was *incumbent* on them to subscribe liberally !

The result of the whole is—(counting the Native Subscribers themselves) about 600—on my side against 7 or 8*—! — four or five of whom *are those who originally set themselves against the scheme and disseminated the calumny.*

These statements are only assertions, without a particle of proof.

* I do not count Mr. Martin, or Mr. McDonell (see their letters.)

OBSERVATIONS ON RENT LAW.

The Minute of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal regarding the "Improvement of substantive Law for determination of Rent," is indeed not only able and exhaustive but replete with sound views and original suggestions, which if embodied and passed into law, of course with amendments and modifications, will certainly be a help-guide to the judiciary, in determining disputed cases of enhanced rents, and will fully establish the relations between land-lord and tenant on a clear footing which have hitherto remained in confusion and chaotic aspect.

The importance of the subject demands the careful thought of every right-thinking individual, be he either an European or a Native. As it should be canvassed in all its bearings, I feel it a duty incumbent on me, especially as I am a Native of the land, and one who has for several years been cogitating on the subject, to record and submit my humble observations and views thereon, in order that the same be laid before his Honor, with reference to the opportunity afforded by him in the concluding para of his minute dated the 18th of April 1876.

But before so doing, I must not omit to mention the fact that the disinterested intentions of our Lieutenant Governor regarding the subject under notice, have come home to the bosom of almost the entire population of the land, especially of the agricultural populace and occupancy ryots of Bengal, who have hitherto been entirely helpless-being solely left at the

mercy of the Zemindars, in consequence of no provision having been made by the Legislature in our Magna-charta viz. Act X of 1859, according to which it may be said in the language of his Honor "though the law imposes on the courts of justice, the responsibility of determining a fair and equitable rent in case of dispute, it affords no specific rules whereby such determination may be arrived at." Hence the thanks of the whole nation are necessarily due to Sir Richard Temple, for his landable and generous exertions on behalf of the poor millions of Bengal, whose vital interests have been jeopardized for want of specific law for "adjusting the respective shares of land-lord and tenant in the produce of the land" Extensive disputes have therefore been the inevitable result, and the poor ryots helpless and resourceless as they are, have often been victimized by the powerful land-lord.

In the minute under review, Sir Richard has not stated whether the land-lord will be justified or otherwise to enhance the rents of such occupancy ryots whose rates of rents are pre-settled by his land-lord, under a deed or *puttah* duly executed and registered. His Honor has been silent on the point. Hence, it must naturally be concluded, that it is not his intention that any land-lord can increase the rents of such a class of ryots, by virtue of the existence of any expressed proviso in a document of the above description. There the condition of the *puttah* must remain unaltered, especially as that condition is the consequence of the voluntary consent of both the land-lord and the occupancy ryot, which must be accepted as permanently binding on both the two parties, as in the case of a contract whereon the conditions laid down in a deed cannot on any account be ignored or revoked by

judicial rulings and judgments, if any of the concerned parties object to abide by them subsequently. A Zemindar who grants to an occupancy or any other description of ryot a *puttah*, stating in it in clear terms the amount of rents to be paid to him in perpetuity, no matter if the productive powers of the land have increased by the course of natural events and without the expense or trouble of the ryot, must certainly be precluded from demanding on any future occasion any more than what has already been mutually stipulated for. Nor can the interference of any court of justice on equitable grounds be justified; nor any such judicial interference is needed, for Government with law ought then to step in, when the affairs and relations of individuals are unsettled, or when they can not be adjusted by themselves amicably but where contention is the order of the day. Accordingly any legislation on this head is quite unnecessary and uncalled—for. Sir Richard's silence therefore on the point has been hailed and received by us the people with universal satisfaction.

Then the question arises what description or class of ryots shall be liable to an enhancement of the rent previously paid by him. But before particularizing them and the corresponding circumstances regarding the liability of enhancement, reason, and justice comparatively demands a fair and impartial consideration of the right of the Zemindar's share in the increased profits of the land. For that is the most vital problem connected with the important subject which His Honor the Lieutenant Governor has taken up for elucidation and disposal, and on the true solution of which depends the correct adjustment of the relative shares of the land-lord and tenant. The attention of His Honor is

most respectfully solicited to the sentiments uttered below as they most eminently deserve his special notice.

The Zemindaree system properly speaking, has received its birth and growth from the British Government. It had no existence under former rulers. The Zemindars were treated by our English Government at the outset as simple collectors,—a fact which is not unknown to any reader of the history of Bengal,—they could be ousted “without hesitation when other’s offered more for the lands than they were prepared to pay. But this uncertainty of tenure, and this repeated change of agency was found to be equally detrimental to the improvement of the land, the welfare of the ryots and the interests of the estate. Under such a system there could be no application of capital to the operations of agriculture; the estates became deteriorated, while the remissions which Government was obliged to make from time to time, overbalanced any profits arising from competition. Lord Cornwallis soon after his arrival declared that agriculture and internal commerce were in a state of rapid decay, that no class of society appeared to be flourishing, except the money-lenders, and that both cultivators and land-lords were sinking into poverty and wretchedness, “the evils under which the people groaned”. Thus then to check the concomitant evils which had already flowed or might flow more from a precarious system of Zemindaree, that Lord Cornwallis under the authoritative sanction of the late East India Company declared by regulation the permanent settlement of 1793, creating thereby a large and opulent class of Land-holders and bestowing upon them the unexpected boon of a permanent interest in the soil. The assessment was fixed as unalterable for ever. Those who were hitherto mere tenants under

the sovereign are now made permanent proprietors of land. Those who are hitherto from time immemorial in the position of temporary renters, are now made land-lords vested with indefeasible right and interest in the soil.

The object of making the settlement permanent on the part of the British Government in place of the preceding one, is distinctly obvious. It became fully evident to the authorities that the then existing agency which was remunerated by commission or by a percentage on the gross collections "was equally detrimental to the improvement of the land, the welfare of the royts and the interests of the estate".

The necessity for the discontinuance of such an agency was therefore absolutely felt, not only on account of the gradual diminution of Government revenue but also for the patent fact that the resources of the Country becoming impoverished and exhausted year by year, nay day by day. Agriculture and Commerce were found to be rapidly decaying. Society at large instead of flourishing was almost being plunged into wretchedness and poverty. Neither landlords nor cultivators were prosperous, both continually retrograding downwards. The former practised every species of violence and oppression on the latter, who again in return offered every possible resistance even to the just demands of his landlord. Thus then the whole system of Zemindarce was an anomaly in the extreme. It was entirely unfavorable to either party. Lord Cornwallis to remove this grievous state of things declared the permanent settlement, conferring thereby "on the Zemindars the unexpected boon of a permanent interest in the soil," who would whereby take lively interest for the enrichment of

his lands, for the promotion of cultivation, and for the attainment of the comforts of the people.

How far the avowed object of the British Government as indicated above has been accomplished, will be evident by taking a retrospective view of the workings or operations of the scope of the new settlement from 1873 downwards up to date. The fact is and shall be patent to every mortal on earth that nothing has been done by the new class of Zemindars for the elevation of the condition and for the advancement of the circumstances of the ryots, nor have they contributed any capital or might for the increase of the productive powers of the land. All improvements if any at all has taken place with reference to agriculture, commerce &c., are due entirely to the single-handed exertions of the people themselves, who alone are entitled to receive credit. They alone by their manual labor and by the limited income at their command have been the instruments of developing the resources of the country. That Bengal owes nothing to her landlords for her agricultural and Commercial prosperity, is a fact which the intimate friends of the permanent system cannot deny, and I challenge them to contradict or disprove my assertion. All that they might argue in favor of the system under comment and to which they may expect our support is that it has fathered a class of landed aristocracy which had no existence before or under the preceding rule. They might also truly advance argument that since the promulgation or making of the *Bundobust*, there has been nor can there be any likelihood of the loss or abatement of government revenue as was always the case before, being the concomitant and inevitable result of a fluctuating and ever-changing agency as adverted in a foregoing para.

It should be observed here that we must not include in our calculation the two advantages enumerated above, as they are beyond the legitimate province of our present issue,—which has direct reference to the welfare of the country or the people at large.

It may therefore be safely premised or asserted without fear of contradiction from any quarter that the condition of the people *en-masse* has not in the least been improved by the newly-created class of Zemindars, though most sanguinely aimed at by our generous Government. Their primary object in framing a permanent settlement was simply to seek the welfare of the poor peasantry who were hopelessly pining in poverty and wretchedness on account of the oppressions, violence, and extortions of a powerful and capricious class of landlords, who being temporary renters had no other object in view than to wrench out every *cowree* found in their possession.

It is therefore established as an undoubted fact that the country has received no improvements from the hands of the Zamindars created by the Cornwallis-settlement. They have rendered equal services with their predecessors; their career has been as notorious as of those whom they have succeeded. Their position under Queen Victoria the empress of Hindoostan is not a jot more than of the ones who were farewelled by Lord Cornwallis during the chartered *Ejardarship* of the East India Company under king George the III of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The difference between the two properly speaking is not marked. The position of those of the old was temporary as noticed before; whereas that of the Zemindars of the day is permanent. Both in reality

are collectors of revenue between the Government and the ryots. At present, the landlords of the country though vested by the sovereign with indeafeasible rights in the soil, take no other interest than what is actually necessary for the collection of rents. In order to be more explicit on the subject, it ought to be stated clearly, that a Zemindar thinks it not an incumbent duty on him to adopt measures for the improvements of his lands. That, that duty in his estimation falls within the legitimate province of the cultivator who has the direct management of the lands held by him. Both capital and labor must be expended by *him* for the developement of its natural resources.

The zemindar is only to exert for obtaining from the ryots a principal share in the increased profits of the land, not to speak of the multifarious forms of oppressions resorted to by him for the due accomplishment of his purpose, which will be narrated in detail in a separate paper for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, whose name will ever remain engraved in the hearts of the oppressed forty millions of Bengallee souls, should he condescend with a generous heart to save them from being devoured by the ravenous class created by Lord Cornwallis.

The Zemindar has to pay to Government in 1876 the same *Jumma* fixed and paid in 1793; whereas the *Khazana* (rent) of the *Proja* (ryot) has increased ten or sixteen nay thirty times more than what was originally settled at the time of the Cornwallis-settlement. Government gets not a *cowree* more than the amount settled by Lord Cornwallis. Why and according to what principle of justice the landlords of Bengal may claim more. Science of Logic and morality fails to reconcile the anomaly.

Certainly those Zemindars who would execute works of public utility and advance funds sufficient to enable the ryots to flourish cultivation and promote the productive powers of land, may be allowed by Legislative enactment to have a share in the increased profits. That would be truly fair and equitable. That would be approved both by God above and man below. If Sir Richard pass such a law, he would render material service to the country and the millions under his sway. His Honor shall thereby open a wide and liberal field of competition for the Zemindars to vie each other to come forward to execute public works such as *Roads, Khals, light Railways, Bazars, Hauts &c.*, if not for any thing else at least for their own ultimate gain and benefit. Amelioration of the condition of the poor and resourceless peasantry will then be the inevitable result and improvement of cultivation will then undoubtably be the order of the day.

It must however be admitted on behalf of the Zemindar, that as his relation with the non-occupancy class of ryots is momentary and not permanent, he may adjust their rents to his best advantage for reasons as submitted below for the consideration of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

Non-occupancy ryots are tenants-at-will, or are those who hold lands for a limited period, with or without *Puttah*. Their tenure is not confined to any specific nor definite term. They may relinquish lands at their choice. The Zemindar can eject a non-occupancy ryot at his pleasure according to the existing law on the subject, his term of tenure being below twelve years.

As state of things stands at present, the rates of the rents of the above class of ryots are not defined nor

regulated by law. Such rates as settled by the Zemindar are as a general rule, accepted and approved as final by our civil courts on the occurrence of any dispute between him and his ryot. The Zemindar powerful as he always is, does as a matter of fact extort as much as he likes. The poor ryot must necessarily succumb to his will for want of legislation on the point, as he is well aware by experience that he could obtain neither protection nor redress from the civil authorities whenever he is victimized by his avaricious land-lord. Because he is tenant-at-will having no right of occupancy, and has no permanent interest in the soil, therefore it is no good argument that legislative interference is not needed. It is a grand nay greivous mistake on the part of our Government for its cold indifference towards these helpless ryots.

The position of a non-occupancy ryot is temporary and of short duration as above alluded to, having no permanent or unalienable interest in the land and one who may give up his occupancy at a moment's notice. The land thus relinquished may not be let out for a year or two or for some time and hence he might become a sufferer. It is but aught therefore, that government should leave some margin as compensation to cover losses already incurred, to enable the Zemindar to make suitable and advantageous arrangements regarding rents. Or if reasonable enhancement of the rents of an existing non-occupancy ryot if effected by him, should not be deprecated and disallowed, as he the land-lord by virtue of the conditions of the permanent settlement can claim no remission of revenue from Government for any amount of reasonable plea.

The principle propounded by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in his minute under review is quite

just and reasonable. He lays down "that may generally be left to mutual arrangement between the land-lord and tenant, and to adjust itself just as prices and market rates adjust themselves."

His Honor continues further as follows, for the determination and settlement of rents in cases of dispute.

"If, however a court of justice felt doubt upon the evidence, it ought to have power to require the Collector of the district to ascertain and certify the average rate according to custom in the district or part of a district. Or if doubt should still remain, then the rent of the non-occupancy ryot should be calculated at one-fourth or 25 per cent of the value of the gross produce, with a further allowance of 5 per cent to cover risks of season or 20 per cent on the whole."

The above is the only way by which average rent-rates can be determined and settled. No better method can be devised. Several parties have of late discussed the question but all have totally failed in pointing out and proposing rules that shall be just both to the Zemindar and to the non-occupancy ryot. In fact all such proposals were for the exclusive benefit of the Zemindars. No one has yet come forward to advocate the interests of the poor non-occupancy ryots who stand quite unrepresented before our Lieutenant Governor, who however with a disinterested heart has by promulgating the above declaration manifested sincere earnestness to afford them ready redress.

With respect to the rent question regarding occupancy ryots, the following humble observations are submitted most sanguinely trusting that they may merit His Honor's notice and approval.

A ryot who holds a peice of land for more than twelve years is termed an occupancy ryot according to Act X of 1859. No matter whether he holds a or no *Puttah*, it is sufficient that his possession has extended for more than twelve years, whereby he acquires the right of occupancy and by virtue of which right he cannot be ejected by the Zemindar so long he pays a fair and equitable rent. Now it must be admitted that it is an excellent piece of legislation. So long a ryot pays a fair and equitable rent it is no justice that he can be ejected by the Zemindar with the aid of law. Since the above law has come into being and which had no existence prior to 1859, disputes between Zemindars and ryots relative to ejectment have become of rare occurrence. Such disputes were too numerous before the passing of Act X and ryots could easily be ejected by an avaricious land-lord. State of things has however greatly improved. Law requires therefore not amendment nor modification on the point. It is at the same time to be congratulated that the Lieutenant Governor has not also expressed any desire to abolish or enact it into same other shape, as the existing provision cited above has conferred inestimable benefits on the poor people of the land and saved them from the ruthless hands of the self-thought heaven-born beings.

As regards the adjustment of the rents of the occupancy ryots, the proposition of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor is not open to objection. The rules proposed have settled the rent question most satisfactorily as they appear just both to the Zemindar and to the occupancy ryot. They are to benefit both the land-lord and the tenants of the country. Hence it must be admitted on all hands that the motives of Sir Richard Temple are benovolent and impartial. Evidently he

has not been swayed (as has already been ~~hinted~~ at some quarters) by influence and interest. Nor has he on the other hand manifested indications of biased judgment and partial leaning to one side exclusively, in accordance with the established usage of his predecessors who have hitherto held the gubernatorial throne of the Belvedere palace. The proposed rules are undoubtedly the most catholic and are totally devoid of exclusiveness. It must be acknowledged by all right-thinking individuals that they are the most able and brilliant productions of a statesman of no common order. For some time past, several eminent authorities both official and non official have endeavoured to canvass and settle the rent question. Unfortunately none have succeeded to solve it in such a manner as would be favorable either to the land-lord or to the occupancy ryot. But thanks to Sir Richard Temple for his disinterested motives and generous intentions. The conclusion to which he has happily arrived at is beyond dispute the most devoutly to be wished for. Fair criticism must absolutely constrain us to acknowledge that the principle which His Honor the Lieutenant Governor has laid down in the 15 para. of his minute in question if passed into an act shall clearly define by law for the first time in Bengal the respective shares of the Zemindar and the occupancy ryot in the increased profits of the land. His Honor says. "Therefore, in disputes between the land-lord and the occupancy ryot regarding the amount of rent, I would propose that the difference be ascertained between the rent of the occupancy ryot and the average rent of the non-occupancy ryots in the district: that of this difference a certain share be allotted to the occupancy ryot and the remainder to the land-lord, and that the rent be adjusted accordingly; provided

always that the rent of the occupancy ryot be fixed less than that of the non-occupancy ryot by 20 per cent, and that full allowance be made for the value of improvements made by, or at the expense of the ryot, But I think that, in the fixing of the share of the occupancy ryot, regard must be had to the length and the character of his possession”.

His Honor does therefore formally recognize the relative shares both of the land-lord and the occupancy ryot in the increased profits of the land. But it must be presumed from his plain declaration that where the productive powers of the land have increased without the expense and trouble of the ryot, there the Zemindar would be entitled to have a share in the “unearned increment.” Otherwise it is understood, where all improvements have been made by the ryot himself independent of any other agency save that of his, he the Zemindar according to the universal principles of justice and equity shall be debarred from claiming any enhancement of rent. It would have been doing gross injustice to the poor ryot, if the Lieutenant Governor would have proposed to the contrary. The entire population of Bengal mostly composed as it is at present of numerous occupancy ryots, would ever remain grateful to him for such an act of kindness as has been manifested by him towards them, who in fact are the *bona fide* proprietors of land and owing to whose industry prosperity of the land is solely dependent. The fate of the country rests on their exertions and well-being and it is absolutely necessary that their vital interests should be protected by the interference of law and by the judicial rulings of the presiding judges of the civil courts of Bengal.

His Honor then proposes a scale of rent, and classifies it into three grades which decreases in rate according to length of occupancy, as extracted below. *

“I would also propose to take a standing of twenty years as now comprising most, though not all, of those who become occupancy ryots under the operation of act X of 1859, and allow certain terms to them, and then allow more and more favorable terms to the ryots of thirty and forty years’ standing respectively.”

“With the proviso, then, that the rent of the occupancy ryot should always be less than that of the no-occupancy ryot by 20 per cent, and that full allowance be made for value of improvements made by, or at the expense of the ryot. I propose that in the event of dispute between the land-lord and the occupancy ryots, the difference be ascertained between the rent paid by such occupancy ryot and the average rent paid by non-occupancy ryots in the district, or part of the district; and that the said occupancy ryot then be allowed—

one-fifth of the said difference if he be of twenty years’ standing ;

one-third, if he be of thirty years’ standing ;

two-thirds, if he be of forty years standing ;”

The scale it must be confessed by all, is fair and equitable. The occupancy ryot therefore will not grumble to pay to his land-lord the amount of rent which shall be deemed just and proper. He will not hesitate to allow him a share in the increased profits of the land

if its productive powers have increased by natural causes, or by improvements not made by himself. But reason utterly fails to conclude *why* the land-lord will be entitled to have a share in the “unearned increment,” especially when he contributed no funds for the improvement of the lands.!!!

HURRO PRESAUD CHATTEJEE.

BHOWANIPORE,
CALCUTTA,
The 20th of September 1876.



TO

HENRY RICKETTS, Esq.

SENIOR MEMBER SUDDER BOARD OF REVENUE,

THIS PAMPHLET

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT

THE AUTHOR.

MEMO. RELATIVE TO THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTING THE REVENUE OF CALCUTTA AND PUNCHANNOGRAM.

THE present system of collecting the revenue of Calcutta and Punchannogram is through mercenary Agents, called Etnamdars, who, on depositing a certain sum, get the collection of an equivalent jumma and are allowed 10 per cent. on the sum collected for their trouble, of which 2 per cent. is paid to the bill-writers who are entertained by the collector ; 3 per cent. to the bill sircars employed by the Etnamdars, and the moiety 5 per cent. is a clear profit to the depositor. Generally (by which I mean with one or two exceptions) the Etnamdars are independent men engaged in other callings, who, having a Government Promissory note lying by, deposit it in the collectorate, where they know it to be as secure as in their own keeping, for the certain advantage of doubling their interest, and without any trouble whatsoever increasing their capital.

The Etnamdars engage their bill sircars, who are the actual collectors, on the same terms that they themselves are bound to Government, that is to say, they allow them a commission and receive from them security equivalent to the jumma they are entrusted to collect. Thus are the Etmams freed not only from the labour, but also from the responsibility ; the consequences are that, assured of the 5 per cent. commission, and equally so that it is as much the bill sircar's interest as theirs to collect what can be collected, they remain intent on their other avocations and never give the collections a moment's thought, letting their bill sircars, a needy and ignorant set, with the inadequate and uncertain remuneration of 3 per cent. and

every temptation to oppress, loose on the poor ryots. But to be properly understood, I must explain myself more particularly. A bill sircar for instance has a ground-rent bill for one rupee against a party who earns five rupees a month, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in many cases, when it is presented, the man has not the rupee at hand, for few have money to produce at a moment's call. In such a case what is to be done? The debtor knows the bill to be due, and that it is his duty to pay it, nay he must at the risk of having the very vessel he eats and drinks from, sold. To pacify the sircar therefore and defer payment of the bill for a specified time, he offers him say four annas, and the bill sircar is put off with a bribe and a specified time for payment which, in order to render an explanation and get a fresh bill, be it observed, it must be his object to secure, whilst the Government suffers loss for the time the revenue is not collected, and the debtor is out of pocket of $\frac{1}{20}$ th of his monthly income, which "makes a large hole in a poor man's pocket." But, suppose the debtor not having the means just then to discharge the debt to make no compromise, what then? The Ettnam lodges a complaint, a warrant is issued, and the poor defaulter has to pay for his one rupee 1-12, with a daily increase of 8 annas in case of delays.

Cost of Bill,	1	0	4	<i>vide</i> marginal note. Well might Mr. A. R. Young who, though he officiated as Collector for a short time yet got a clear insight into the system, remark that Calcutta was no exception when opportunities to rob and oppress the poor were available.
" of Warrant,	0	4	0	
" of Commission,	0	8	0	
Total,	<hr/> 1 12 4 <hr/>			

The evil of the system is not limited to the simple execution of a warrant, but in Punchannogram, on the mere representation of an Ettnamdar, whole estates are sold and property confiscated without any further investigation. Whether the bill was duly presented to the party or not, by the sircar, is never known, much less the reason of its not having been liquidated

Had Government provided an efficient superintendence over the bill collectors, and insisted on the Etmandars paying them adequately for their labour, the existing stringent and severe measures, for collecting the revenue of Calcutta and Panchannogram, might have been fair; but under the present system they are as *oppressive* as they are *unjust*.

Whilst giving the subject my best consideration, I longed to read some authoritative work on Khas Management—but as books on revenue administration cannot always be had, my desire could not be gratified till about a twelvemonth ago, I happened to see the “Assistant’s Kutcherree Companion” advertised, I did not then know who wrote the work, but have since heard that Mr. Ricketts is the author, and this being the case I have the highest authority on revenue matters in my favour, and Part IX on Khas Mehals answers all my expectation.

Among the rules laid down in the Part alluded to, the answers to the 2nd question.—“Why is the preparation of a jumwabundee indispensable?” and the 5th.—“How long is the jumwabundee to continue in force?” will, if well considered in connection with the present system of managing the two estates, not only prove the utility of carefully noting transfers and changes, but also that the system of collecting the revenue is open to all the objections pointed out by the Honorable Court in their Despatches quoted in the commencement of the chapter.

The first measures for the management of Khas Mehals are, Mr. Ricketts says “identification of the tenures comprising the estate, the preparation of a list of rent payers with the amount to be paid by each” This is called a jumwabundee, and is considered “indispensably necessary, because without it Khas Management is, as characterised by the Court, uncontrolled tushceeldaree management, and an unfailing source of oppression and fraud,” this jumwabundee ought to continue in force for a year only, to be renewed at the end of that period.

I shall now proceed to show that notwithstanding the survey and settlement before two years have elapsed, the boundaries of the tenures will, under the present management, be lost and so will the names of the rent-payers, and amount of jumma agreed upon with each.

First.—The boundaries of the tenures in the town, are not like those of Mehals in the Mofussil. Here, in thousands of cases, the ground, on which one house stands, is by butwarrah divided into several portions, and again by transfer or sale one or all these portions are merged into adjoining holdings. This occasions changes in the buildings which so alter the features of the ground, that it would be difficult to identify the original holding, and none but one conversant with the maps and the town, or an expert Surveyor, would be able to alter the areas and the maps so as to do justice both to the Government and the rent-payer.

Secondly.—As property goes from one to another, whether by butwarrah sale or transfer, the name of the proprietor is constantly altered, and this equally affects the amount of jumma; for transfers are not made of whole holdings; but as experience proves as often as one holding is by butwarrah sale or transfer subdivided into four, so often have four holdings been by purchase or bequest, amalgamated into one; such then is the nature of the changes which occur by thousands yearly. This explanation, I trust, will tend to prove that a periodical jumma bundee of the two estates is indispensably necessary, and to secure the revenue, must be carefully got up yearly, but for this no provision has been made either in the 24-Pergunnahs or Calcutta Collectorates. The Etmamdars and bill sircars are nonentities, and even the higher subordinates, such as the Deputy Collectors, would find it difficult to identify with map in hand whole holdings in a thickly populated part of the town, much less holdings subdivided and merged into one another, such as I have endeavoured to describe.

I fear I have been unable to express myself properly, but I trust I have, in some measure, shown the reader the certainty of the boundaries of the tenures being lost in time as also the names of the proprietors, and in consequence the jumma becoming doubtful. Under such circumstances, the result must be what the Honorable Court anticipated; the "*tuhseeldar will find it his interest to collect as much of the revenue as is practicable for himself, and will pay as little of it as he possibly can to Government.*"

The Honourable Court, in one of their Despatches, quoted in the "Companion," point out three simple objects as most material in Revenue Administration—"the definition of the amount demanded—care, that it is a moderate one, and that each individual has easy means of redress, if more than the defined amount is in any shape exacted from him." Under the present management there is no kind of superintendence over the collecting sircars, and the last object, however important, for suppressing oppression and securing the revenue, can never be attained.

It may be argued that the Authorities have done all they could; the rent in both estates is fixed at a very moderate rate; there are two Collectorates open for all who have cause of complaint for redress, and if they will not seek it, the fault is their own. To this I would say, that whilst the Authorities enact stringent rules, they ought also to consider well whether those rules are adapted to the cases of those whom they affect. Who are the proprietors of land in Calcutta and Punchannogram? High, low, rich or poor, who are they with a few exceptions but day-labourers; men engaged in their callings from morning to evening or from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M.? The rich side with the rich, we will therefore take the case of a poor proprietor, and unhappily the greater number are poor.

Suppose in the case of a khitmutgar, a bearer, a melter or a writer, with incomes ranging from 5 to 100 rupees, a bill to be due on the 30th June, how easy for a bill sircar to present it at

the premises in the absence of the occupant, and if he is obnoxious to him, to report the following day that it was unpaid and get out a warrant? Again in cases of transfers, how difficult for one whose time at the usual office hours is *never his own* to present himself at the Collectorate to have transfers registered and bills altered. If these men had been zemindars in the true sense of the word, whose whole time was devoted to managing their estates, stringent rules such as those in force to realize rents, would be fair; but it is a very hard case to make them so, when it is known, that the rent-payers' time is not his own to register sales. I ask what any one of the Secretaries in Calcutta would say, were one of his subordinates to urge *more than once*, that he was late "*because he went to the Collectorate to register a transfer*", or what would the master say if his khitmutgar offered the same plea for laying the dinner table at 6 instead of 4 P. M.? The Secretary, I should suppose, would fine the delinquent, and the master perhaps knock him down.

Above I have endeavoured to show how the non-registry of transfers and mutations with a defective system of collecting the revenue and stringe Acts to enforce the collections, affects the landowners. I shall now attempt to show by the following illustration how they affect the occupants of them:—Holding No. 173, of B 1, S. D. was at the time of survey recorded as No. 12, Joratallao Street, and settled with A, who was then the proprietor of it; two years have elapsed, and the property has been intermediately transferred from A to B, and from B to C. The municipal commissioners have also altered their arrangements, which they annually do, and the premises are numbered 12-2, when Mr. H. rents it on a lease of three years: Twelve months of his lease have expired, during which the house-rent has been faithfully paid. In the meanwhile C., the owner of the holding, on the representation of the etmamdar, becomes a defaulter. A warrant

is issued forthwith and served at the usual office hours. Mr. H. is absent ; but Mrs. H., who is at home, is surprised at the bailiff's salutation, she, poor weak woman, being nervous and never having been served with a warrant before in her life ; she is agitated too at the probability of Mr. H.'s being involved in difficulties ; she receives the warrant, however, and finds that it relates to premises No. 12, Joratallao Street, and to the property of A, on which she remonstrates with the bailiff, and informs him she is living in No. 12-2, the property of C, and not of A, and in testimony whereof she refers him to the No. of her house, on the gate pillar, and to house-rent bills signed by C ; but the bailiff is obdurate, although he apprehends some mistake in the unpaid ground-rent bill and warrant, yet as the collecting sircar has pointed out these premises they must be connected with it and no mistake. The warrant is executed, and one or more "peadas" stationed at the gate. Mr. H. comes home and is informed of the circumstance, and after due deliberation concurs with Mrs. H. that there is some mistake, therefore, careless of the consequences, he forgets the matter till in due time the bailiff pounces on him with power to sell his property. What is he to do, but submit and pay the trifle which now, with peadas' fees, &c., amounts to more than double the claim ? What an edifying spectacle of the "blind leading the blind," but let us consider what inconvenience Mr. H. has been put to, in ignorance of his liability. The sacred privacy of his homestead has been intruded on, two myrmidions of the collectorate have watched his every movement, and the news of the seizure having spread, his name has been pretty freely handed about by his neighbours and their dependants. Now this is an almost every-day case with the poor widows and wives of the Native community, which would seldom if at all occur had provision been made for a periodical jumabundee and efficient superintendence over the bill sircar. Apply the case to high or low, rich or poor,

consider it attentively in all its features, and only then will the actual extent of the evil be perceived, and the reader be convinced that the system is indefensible in all its bearings.

Search the annals of history, and except in the case of the Roman Publican, nowhere do we find a system for collecting revenue so open to abuse as the etnamdary system of the 19th century; to see, however, if it is at all less oppressive than its great antetype, we will compare the two.

The late Dr. Arnold in one of his discourses to his pupils, at Rugby, defines a Roman Publican as follows; "By Publicans are meant farmers of taxes, not simply collectors of taxes whose business it is merely to collect from different individuals a certain sum fixed by the law, not tax-gatherers or tax-collectors in the present sense of the word (not being an European I cannot of course determine the nature of the agency adverted to by Dr. Arnold when alluding to tax-gatherers in the *present sense* of the word, but under a christian Government, I presume they were adequately paid agents); but farmers of the taxes, who made it a trade or speculation first paying to the Government a certain sum, or as is the case in the system in question *depositing* with the Government a certain sum, and then being empowered to repay themselves and to make their own profit by getting as much as they could from the people. Having thus a direct interest in the collections, they were not only watchful to exact to the utmost every thing which might legally be demanded, *but as the law was not always strong enough to protect the poor, they often frightened persons into paying more than was due by the terror of bringing false or frivolous accusations against them, if they did not comply with the Publican's extortion.*" Compare this definition with what an etnamdar's sircar actually is, and as he is represented to be in this memo, and how alike are they? I shall now go on to suppose the Roman authorities to revive, and, in justification of their system, to say that the revenue was

justly the State's due ; it was not an exorbitant demand, and consequently landowners or occupants ought not to have objected to the system, especially as the authorities considered it a necessary evil. What thinking mind would not condemn such arguments now-a-days and loudly insist on a modification, in order to relieve the poor and act justly by all ?

Again, I hear that Government, to avert the evil of the system, has allowed every rent-payer the privilege to redeem his land by the payment of 15 years' Revenue. The offer is very fair, and the measure altogether a very wholesome one ; and in time may, by patience and perseverance, be successfully carried out, but certainly not so long as the interested Etman exists, to counteract the efforts of the Collector, to reason the rent-payer into the belief of its utility.

In conclusion, I would suggest a remedy. I do so respectfully. I do not mean to dictate to my superiors. I know my position too well to attempt it ; but I do believe no one in existence has given the subject the consideration that I have, and as I am labouring in a good cause, let the reader think what he may of my motives and intentions. I wish to improve the talent entrusted to me, and I cannot lose this opportunity.

From what I have seen and know of the system, I would say strike it at the very root, but if, as I hear, it is considered to be a necessary evil, modify it.

Punchannogram and Calcutta will, after settlement, yield a revenue of about 1,000,000 at the lowest ; the 10 per cent. now appropriated for the collections will leave 10,000 Rupees for disposal annually. Instead of allowing the sleeping partners of the present system the benefit of 5 per cent. for doing nothing, let it be paid out for the benefit of both the Government and ryot by employing small capitalists on 6 per cent. personally to collect rents and, with the remaining 4 and an additional outlay, employ an efficient establishment to superintend the collections, to get up a jumma bundee yearly, to make and note

transfers and changes, to draw up an abstract of the jumma-bundee, and when one man owns more than a dozen holdings, to serve him with a notice to pay in his revenue direct to the collectorate, which the wealthier natives and agency houses would be very happy to do if the matter was properly represented to them, and see what benefit both Government and ryots will derive. If the employment of a well-paid agency with vigilant supervision cannot entirely eradicate the evil, it will be a very strong check on it, and tend to ameliorate the condition of the poor, do justice to all, and secure the Government Revenue.



REMARKS

On the causes which have led to the increase of Dacoity, highway robbery, and other public offences, with suggestions for their suppression; by Baboo Ram Lochun Ghose, Principal Sudder Ameen of Nuddea, drawn up and communicated by desire to J. P. Grant Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on the 22nd August 1850.

1st. It is almost a notorious fact, that the Dacoits, Burglars, robbers and other miscreants are generally clandestinely harboured in, by a majority of the Zemindars and other opulent and influential men of the country, though at the time of the permanent settlement, they (the Zemindars) made an engagement with the Government, that they would exert their best endeavours for the suppression of crime within the limits of their respective Zemindaries. Had they not so protected the offenders, there would not have existed that facility for secreting and disposing of valuable articles obtained by them as is the case at present.

2d. It is for the reason above specified, that the Zemindars do not evince that degree of interest and concern, which, from their elevated position in the country and a sense of the duty they owe to it, they ought to do.

3d. The majority of the Moffusil Magistrates are not so well experienced, efficient, talented and zealous officers as the high and sacred functions of their office require them to be.

4th. The police Amlahs are entirely wanting in those eminent qualities of talent, probity, vigilance, activity and zeal, which are indispensably necessary to render the police efficient and vigorous.

5th. The privilege of appeal from the decision of the Session Judge to the Nizamut Adawlut, and the frequent acquittals by them of the delinquents, on some technicalities of Law, have in a certain degree, tended to the encouragement and progress of heinous offences.

6th. The general laxity of prison discipline and the system of high rations now provided for the prisoners in almost all the jails in the Lower provinces, have not a little added to the augmentation of crime.

7th. The deposition of witnesses on which hinges the whole trial of a case, not being held from beginning to end in the actual presence and personal hearing of the criminal authorities, is another of the causes of the evils under consideration.

8th. The jurisdiction of the *Moffusil Thannahs* being too extensive, each comprising on an average about 3 or 4 hundred *Mouzahs*, or about 60 or 70,000 souls, whom it is impossible to keep under proper controul and efficiency, with the meagre establishment and constabulary force now allowed to each *Thannah*, is another main cause of the inefficiency of the *Moffusil Police*.

9th. The last, though not the least, cause of the increase of the crimes above alluded to, is the entertainment of *Lattials* by the *Zemindars* and *Indigo* and other factors for the purpose of creating affrays with each other, in order to serve their own purposes and ends in view. These *Lattials* the pests and peace-breakers of the country, who seldom receive any fixed allowance from their employers, not unfrequently rob the people of their property in order to satisfy their own wants as well as the cupidity of their masters. Now the means, which I would suggest for the removal of these evils, are as follow :--

1st. Since by the permanent settlement all *Zemindars* have bound themselves by solemn engagements with the Government, to co-operate with the Police for the suppression of all heinous crimes committed within the boundaries of their respective *Zemindaries*, it would be but acting up to the spirit and letter of those engagements to coerce them by an enactment to adopt every means in their power for the prevention and detection of crimes ; and to assist the Police in the apprehension of the offenders with all the necessary evidence for their conviction, and to hold them responsible

for the occurrence and recurrence of them. The Landholders should take good care of the *Budmashes* during night, and enquire into the means of their livelihood, as well as cause their Ryots, four or five of them at a time, to keep watch every night, in company with the established (howkeedars. When I was a Deputy Collector at Dacca, I in conjunction with other residents of the place, introduced these salutary measures into my own village there, which produced the most beneficent results.

2d. An unreserved and amicable intercourse and communication between the European Police authorities and the Zemindars and other influential men of the country on every point connected with the Police, is a great desideratum. To remove this invidious distinction between the conquering and the conquered would, in my humble opinion, be the first step towards carrying this desirable end into effect ; but its consummation greatly depends on the liberal and enlightened views of the Magistrates who are the heads of the Police. The Zemindars should be always persuaded and encouraged to propose and suggest to the Magistrate any plans or measures which they may deem best calculated to check the progress of crime ; and should the Magistrate approve of them, he ought at once to carry them into execution. Should the Zemindars thus co-operate with the Police Authorities, and *vice versa*, I have no doubt, that a great check to the increase of heinous offences would ensue, and every security of life and property be afforded to the people at large to the extent desirable.

3rd. The jurisdiction of a Thannah should be so circumscribed, that the Police officers may be able to go to and fro in all directions of it, within 6 hours of the day, and the Thannah itself should be in a central situation whereby the Police officers would be enabled to attend to every case of emergency with the least delay and in proper time.

4th. For the office of Darogah, those only should be selected, who have had a good deal of experience in the routine of that line of business ; and to that of the Mohurrer and Jemadar, young men who have been educated in the Government Colleges and Schools, should be appointed with the change of their designations for Naib Darogahs and Moonshces, the former on a salary of 40 Rs., and the latter on that of 35 Rs. per mensem, with a prospect of future

promotion to a Darogahship, and eventually to a Deputy Magistrateship. I do not, however, suggest, that the College students should, at once in their first career of business, be placed in the post of Darogah, because from want of due experience, and heat of blood and brain, they would create more harm than good to the task imposed upon them. After a short experience, however, in the lower grades of Naib Darogah and Moonshee, they would finally be very valuable Daroghas and Deputy Magistrates, thus in time all the Police officers would be as zealous, active and upright in the discharge of their relative duties as might devoutly be wished for.

5th. It is true that there are some men, who are *naturally* good and conscientious, and others, good only from education, love of popularity, or a prospect of reward, but the number of the former is comparatively very small, and that of the latter, large and extensive. No plan is, however, so well calculated to guard a man against falling into the pits of temptation, as the prospect of a reward and future promotion. Mere augmentation of salary as has been urged by many, without the hopeful prospect of further promotion, is of little or no avail as has amply and sufficiently been verified in the case of the present Darogahs, who, with the receipt of the higher emoluments now allowed to them, are not a whit better than they were before. It has served only to entail a greater pecuniary loss both on the Government and the people. To the former, because, it has to pay a higher rate of allowance than it heretofore did, without securing the desired effect contemplated by the increase of pay and to the latter, because, they have now to pay more as perquisites to a higher salaried officer. The cause of this failure in the contemplated change for the better, is chiefly, if not wholly, to be attributed to the want of the hopeful prospects above alluded to—should the salutary reforms in the Civil line of the service be introduced into that of the Police I have every reason to believe that the same happy results, will, as a matter of course, ensue.

6th. It is generally customary in the Mofussil to furnish the Police officers with their diet allowances, whenever they have occasion to go into the interior for the investigation of any case; and it is from the inability of many a poor man to give these allowances &c. that they invari-

ably shun and eschew their presence ; and consequently divers offences are concealed from the cognizance of the Police. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the Police officers should be strictly interdicted from taking these illegal allowances on pain of immediate dismissal, or that the Government should allow any travelling expences to the Police officers at some particular rate per diem as is the case with the other itinerant officers of Government.

7th. The Police Officers should always go on their rounds every day and night within the limits of their respective Thannahs and make daily reports to their superior of every good and evil that might take place within their jurisdiction, and of the frequent expedients and measures adopted by the Zemindars and other men of the place for keeping peace within their respective villages.

8th. The Daicoities &c., on the river are not less frequent than those on the land and consequently require no less attention and consideration of the legislature. The Zemindars should, I think, be held responsible for the occurrence of these offences as well as be directed to take proper measures for their prevention. In order to render an adequate protection to the life and property of the people travelling on boats, from one place to another, it will, in my humble opinion, be expedient and appropriate to erect watch huts at the distance of every two miles on the banks of the rivers, which are frequently navigated by boats and appoint in each of them a couple of Police Chowkeedars for the watch and care of the boats at night. The Police Amlahs should also be directed to keep generally a watchful eye on these boats and to cause them all to be kept together in one place within their respective limits.

9th. In some places the Police have guard boats on a large scale and establishment with a view to protect the boats on the river from piracy and depredation, but so far as I have been able to gather from personal experience and observation, I have been led to infer that these boats are of little avail, being generally productive of mischief and oppression. Hence the sooner they are done away with, the better for the Government and people, but in some localities, however, such as the Sunderbuns &c, there ought to be some guard boats under a better plan and arrangement.

10th. In places where the Thannahs are at a distance from the banks of the river, some *Phauries* or out-posts should be kept near the banks at proper distances with the establishment of a Jemadar on a good salary, and 4 Burkundazes in each *Phaury*, who should go round on the banks of the river at particular and proper intervals of the night, and keep the appointed Chowkeedars on the banks quite alert and awake to their duties. It should likewise be incumbent on the Magistrates to keep these underlings under due controul and surveillance.

11th. There should be a Deputy Magistrate with every 3 or 4 Thannahs under his controul and management.

12. The system of appeals from the decision of the Session Judge to the Nizamut Adawlut should be at once abolished, and that of empannelling intelligent and respectable men of the country as juries in the trial of cases in the Sessions Courts should be substituted for it.

13. Whenever any affray takes place in any locality between any two Zemindars or factors, the best expedient and remedy to prevent its recurrence, would in my opinion be at once to hold the principals of both parties, whether European or Native, responsible for it, and visit them with condign punishment, not in a pecuniary way but incarceration in the Jail for a few months not less than six, according to the circumstances of the case. *Then* and not till *then* can we expect an entire and absolute eradication of this inveterate and diabolical pest from the face of the country.

14th. The practice and rule of not allowing residents of any Zillah to hold appointments in the Moffusil Thannahs of that Zillah, should be extended to the officers employed in the Magistrate's Court, because by their appointment, the degree and extent of mischief would be greater than those of the commensurate benefits likely to be derived from it

15th. The Magistrates and Session Judges should have a complete command over the language of their courts in which they respectively preside ; as is the case with Messrs. Mytton, Seton Karr and Montessor, who require little or no assistance in understanding any case in the language of the courts they preside over. Should the Magistrates be always zealously attentive and conscientious in the discharge

of the sacred functions they have to perform ; to wit the security of life and property of the people, I have no doubt but that the number of Dacoities and other offences would be reduced to a remarkable minimum.

16th. The present ration system of the prisoners should be abolished and the former rate of 3 pice allowance per diem should be resuscitated. The prisoners should also be closely immured in solitary and separate rooms, and never allowed to labour out of doors, so that they will not be able to enjoy that pleasure of social intercourse and communion, which should be alone the privilege of those who are free and innocent.

Calcutta :

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NO. 27, CORNWALLIS SQUARE.

1850.

INTRODUCTION.

IN 1858, the present Compiler published the first number of these Selections. Since then the Indigo Question has occupied a prominent share of the public attention, but the preponderance of the Indigo Planters in the public Press, and the special favour they found with the late Administration, kept the general public ignorant of the issue to which the question was rapidly advancing. The truth unravelled by the writer two years ago, has, however, at last forced its way, and it rests with the authorities as to what tongue they will give to it.

That the ryots are unwilling to sow indigo—that they do not find it remunerative—that they are groaning under the evils of a complete anarchy,—are not new discoveries; and he who doth not believe in them seeth not the light and hearkeneth not to reason. The Commission of Enquiry about to be appointed will, it is to be hoped, so unveil the true state of things, that none will dare ignore it, though the drill to which the ryot is being subjected by means of Coercion Acts and repressive forces, does not strengthen the hope the writer is so sanguine to entertain from his too true a knowledge of oppression on the one hand and suffering on the other.

The appointment of the Commission is one thing gained in the right direction. On it he insisted earnestly in his last publication, and he cannot be oblivious of his almost personal obligation to the Government and the Legislature for this gracious concession to the Public demand. But the Commission should be supplemented by other effective measures before the Indigo Problem can be satisfactorily solved. And these measures are none other than the recognition legislatively of the principle of equal law and equal justice for all persons of whatever race, origin, and creed, and the delegation of the important function of enforcing this principle to persons fitted alike by ability, courage, and conscience to carry it out. Until this consummation, so devoutly desired, is effected, the Indigo Question cannot be settled.

The papers selected are intended to supplement the "Selections" which the Government of Bengal have already published on the subject. It may, however, be added, that, coupled with those Selections, the papers herein contained afford the most indubitable testimony of the iniquity of the Indigo sys-

tem, and the deplorable condition of the Indigo ryot. The proposed Commission cannot elicit stronger proofs than those mentioned above, but the Commission will be a living reality, symbol of a power that will be felt, and its decree cannot, therefore, be disputed.

The Native community should however remember that the Indigo question is not simply a "contest between Labour and Capital;" it has a deeper seat and wider range than that. It is a question as much affecting the social as the political future of the people of Bengal. In fact as will this question be solved, so will their future destiny be determined.

CALCUTTA, }
The 11th May, 1860. }

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RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIGO PLANTERS AND RYOTS.

FROM

A. R. YOUNG, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

TO

THE OFFICIATING COMMISSIONER OF
THE NUDDEA DIVISION.

Fort William, the 21st July, 1859.

JUDICIAL.

SIR,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of the letter from your Office, noted in the margin, with their original enclosures, and, in reply, to communicate the following observations of the Lieutenant-Governor on the question which was referred by Mr. Grote for the orders of Government :—

No. 74, 15th April last.
No. 82, 15th April last.
No. 116, 16th June 1859.

2nd.—It is not necessary in disposing of this matter to go further back than to the proceedings in 1859, out of which this reference has arisen. The facts of the case appear to be these :—

3rd.—Some ryots applied to Mr. Eden, the Joint Magistrate of Baraset for protection from Mr. Larmour, who, they said, was going to plough up their lands and sow them with Indigo. Complaints of the same sort had been before made to the Magistrate by a number of ryots on various dates, commencing from November last. On receiving the last complaint, Mr. Eden passed the following order, addressed to the Deputy Magistrate of the Sub-division :—“Since the ryots can sow in their lands whatever crop they like, no one can, without their consent and by violence, sow any other crop. Ordered, therefore, that the original petition

be sent to the Deputy Magistrate of Mitterhant, in order that he may send Policemen to the ryots' lands to prevent any disturbances that are likely to ensue from any compulsory cultivation of their lands, and instruct them, that, if the land is really that of the ryots, not to allow any one to interfere with it. If the ryots wish to sow Indigo or any thing else, the Policemen will see that there is no disturbance."

4th.—Mr. Larmour complained of this order, alleging that the effect of it had been to make the ryots believe that they would receive every encouragement from the Magistrate's Court in not sowing Indigo, for which some of them have received advances and contracted.

5th.—Mr. Grote thought Mr. Larmour's remonstrance well founded, and disapproved of the Magistrate's order above quoted. Mr. Grote does not maintain, at least he does not in this correspondence assert, that Mr. Larmour can have had any right to compel the ryots by force to sow the Indigo, or any right himself to sow Indigo, on their land, and he does not deny that disputes on such affairs are matter for settlement in the Civil Court. But he objects to that part of the order by which the Police are directed not to allow any one to interfere with the ryots in the cultivation of their land, if the land is undoubtedly that of ryots, on the ground that this condition involves an inquiry by the Darogah into the point of ownership, as his action is to depend entirely upon the result of such an inquiry. This, Mr. Grote says, is throwing on the Darogah the entire responsibility of action, a course which he looks upon as very responsible. He considers the Magistrate's order inconsistent with the principle on which Mr. Eden himself founds, which principle Mr. Grote, as His Honor understands him, does not contest, namely, that the contracts between Indigo Manufacturers and Ryots for the cultivation and sale of Indigo plant, when disputes arise between them on the ground of alleged breach by either party, are matters exclusively for the settlement of the Civil Courts, and matters in which the Magistracy and Criminal Courts have no jurisdiction, and with which the Police have no right and ought not to interfere on one side or the other, any more than in disputes about the Civil Courts. Disapproving of the order on the above grounds, Mr. Grote instructed Mr. Eden to amend

his order, by making it known that it was not the intention of the order "that Police protection should be given to such ryots as had entered into engagements with the factory, and were now on any pretence holding back from their performance." Mr. Eden obeyed these instructions, but he supported the consistency and propriety of his own views, explaining that in matter of fact the ryots in this case were undisputed owners of the land, and were in possession of it; that Mr. Larmour put forward no claim to it, and that the order applied only to land in such circumstances. Mr. Eden has urged his point with much intelligence and force. Mr. Grote, however, adheres to his original view, and holds that all that ought to be required of the Police, in cases of such complaints as those made to Mr. Eden in this case, is that they are to prevent, if they can, actual disturbance of the peace, and if they cannot prevent (a breach of the peace), to arrest and bring to justice those who disturb it.

6th.—It is to be observed, that it is not to be assumed that in the case out of which this discussion arose, Mr. Larmour or his servants acted in any way improperly or illegally. Mr. Larmour has denied all intention to use force. The general question in no way depends upon the merits of this particular dispute; it relates only to the course which the Police ought to adopt when such disputes as this arise.

7th.—The question on which Government is to decide is, which of these two courses should be prescribed to the Police in disputes of this nature—the course of protecting the undoubted possessor of the land from the physical interference of strangers who came upon the land, that it shall be cultivated only with Indigo, on the allegation that the possessor of the land has promised to cultivate a certain quantity of land with Indigo, for sale to them at a fixed price, or the course of announcing that no protection will be given against such physical interference to ryots who are under engagements (for the cultivation and supply of Indigo) with those strangers, and hold back from performing their engagements, and of standing by until the dispute reaches the point of a breach of the peace, when whosoever breaks the peace is to be arrested and taken to the Magistrate to be punished.

8th.—This is a most important practical question, and the Lieutenant-Governor thinks it is strange that it has not been authoritatively determined before, as cases of this sort are of daily occurrence. On the one hand, the manufacturer of Indigo dye, which is one of the staples of these provinces, affirms that, if the ryots are protected by the Police from such interference with their cultivation as is described, no Indigo plant will be cultivated wherefrom he can manufacture the dye. On the other hand, the ryot affirms that, if he is unprotected under such circumstances, he is deprived of the use of his possession, and sent to prison for resisting the trespasser.

9th.—The Lieutenant-Governor assumes that Mr. Eden's principle, as above stated, is, beyond all question, the true exposition of the law of the matter as it stands, and he cannot agree with Mr. Grote in thinking that Mr. Eden's order is inconsistent with that principle. If Mr. Grote's objection is well founded, it is beyond the province of the Police, as throwing undue responsibility of action upon them, to protect any man in the possession of his property against force, if the force is exerted by persons who allege promises in their favour. His argument is, that in all such cases the duty of the Police is to stand still, unless a breach of the peace is imminent; in that case they are to prevent such breach if they can, and if they cannot, they are to arrest whomsoever they find in the act of breaking the peace.

10th.—It appears to the Lieutenant-Governor that this doctrine is untenable; he cannot suppose that any one would think of maintaining it when the property in question is personal. If a traveller is passing along the highway, and is surrounded by men who insist upon his delivering to them his purse out of his pocket, alleging that he had promised to do so, no one, the Lieutenant-Governor believes, will maintain that a Police Darogah and his men, who are paid to repress all outrages, ought to stand by without interfering, on the ground that they cannot tell without inquiry whether the purse belongs to the passenger or not, and that, therefore, it is throwing too much responsibility upon the Police to expect them to take any action in such an affair, until there is a breach of

the peace. Even so, the Lieutenant-Governor does not see how the Police could escape the responsibility eventually of coming to a conclusion from the fact passing before his eyes, and taking a line of action founded upon that conclusion; for suppose the passenger to prepare to resist those who offer to take his purse, are the Police to hold his hands for fear of the parties coming to blows? or if he do resist, and so a breach of the peace occurs, is he to be taken up for causing it? That would be to act on the conclusion that the assailants had a right to force the purse out of the passenger's possession; or the assailants to be taken up, that would be a line of action founded on the contrary conclusion. As then that Police must be driven at last into assuming the responsibility of coming to a rational conclusion under the circumstances, as to whether the party resorting to force has a right to do so or not, what reason can there be to prohibit them from so acting at first before any such calamity has happened?

11th.—The Lieutenant-Governor is unable to see any difference of principle when the case is one of forcible entry, which is no less an outrage, when without colour of law, than the forcible seizure of personal property; and he believes that in any case unconnected with Indigo, no one would question the propriety of the Police interfering to protect a subject from such an outrage. Suppose the case reversed, and that these ryots, alleging that Mr. Larmour had promised to let them have the use of houses and grounds, had entered that gentleman's premises, and insisted on sowing his garden with rice, or had taken possession of his factory to store their grain in it, the Lieutenant-Governor doubts if Mr. Grote would hold that, on Mr. Larmour's call for protection on the Police, it would be throwing too much responsibility on the Darogah to expect him to act on the conclusion that Mr. Larmour had a right to such protection under the circumstances.

12th.—Indeed, every Police Officer must act in the exercise of his power or functions on his own responsibility, and he could not be relieved from that necessity without making him altogether useless. Nor is it easy to see a case in which the responsibility of forming a rational conclusion under the circumstances can be less, than one in which a party

pretending no claim beyond what may or may not be valid ground of civil action, and setting up no pretence of ownership or possession, or right of possession, in particular field, which field is known to be in the undisputed possession of another party, sends men upon that field to cause it to be sown with something the possessor of the fields objects to.

13th.—It is the course which Mr. Grote has prescribed in the present case, which appears to the Lieutenant-Governor to be inconsistent with the principle above laid down, and certainly to be open to the objection that it throws undue responsibility on the Police. By this course the Police were prohibited from protecting in the use of their own land such ryots as had engagements with the Factory, and were now on any pretence holding back from the performance of their bargains. How is the Darogah to ascertain whether the ryot has or has not made such an engagement? There is nothing in what passes before his eyes to show how the facts stand. He cannot know the fact or form a rational guess on the point without *quasi* judicial enquiry, and it is quite certain that he has no authority to enter into any such enquiry, and no power to obtain the evidence, without which no conclusion upon the question could be formed. This alone seems a fatal objection.

14th.—There is, however, a stronger objection to this course of proceeding, namely, its substantial injustice; supposing the Police Darogah to be a proper functionary, to try the question of the mutual civil obligations of the two parties, he is, by the proposed course of procedure, directed, as it were, to execute judgment in favour of the plaintiff, if he decides the one issue of engagement or no engagement in his favour. The ryot may confess the engagement, and still may have many irresistible pleas to avoid consequence the opposite party insists upon. Nevertheless, judgments to be given and executed against him without having one of pleas or pretences as they are called, such a system of procedure would be unjust.

15th.—For example, it is stated to be a common occurrence for a ryot to say that he is willing, according to his engagement, to sow many beegahs with Indigo, and that he has land fit for the purpose, but that he is

not willing to sow his best land with that comparatively unprofitable crop, as his best land is capable of growing what will be many times more remunerative to him. A fairer plea cannot be imagined, but it must be ignored in the course of procedure laid down by Mr. Grote, which, in fact, leaves the Planter's peons to select for Indigo what fields they please, supported passively, to say the least, by the Police.

16th.—The Lieutenant-Governor cannot but disapprove of a Police order of this character.

17th.—The truth is, that disagreements of the character in question are by their very nature subjects for judicial decision, which cannot be adjusted without fully hearing both parties. There is no doubt, that as the law now stands, the Moonsiff's Court or the higher Civil Courts are the only authorities who have lawful cognizance of them. To these courts, therefore, both parties should be left. If either party to the contract conceive himself to be wronged by the other, it is for him to sue the other party. In the supposed case the Indigo planter is the party conceiving himself to be wronged. It is for him, therefore, not to judge his own case, and to execute by his own peons his own judgment in his own favour, but to sue the ryot in the Civil Court, where an impartial decision is passable, the ryot has a right to be protected against any other course.

18th.—It may be that it would be well if speedier means existed of getting the case adjudged, and specific performance judicially ordered, or substantial damages awarded, than the Moonsiff's Court afford. But to introduce in effect into the system of procedure in such cases the action of a power which cannot form a judgment on the question in dispute, and does not pretend to do so, is to take a step which certainly is not a step in the right direction.

19th.—In his letter of the 6th ultimo, Mr. Grote makes some remarks from which the Lieutenant-Governor infers that he is not sure that "the usual practice all over the country" in regard to the cultivation of Indigo is supported by law. But any thing is supported by law to which all parties interested agree. If the ryots agree to such minute interference

with their crop as is described, all is as it should be. But whenever both parties do not agree, neither can be allowed to go beyond his lawful rights, whatever they may be.

20th.— It would be greatly to be lamented if any thing should check Indigo cultivation so long as it is a wholesome commercial enterprise. But it cannot be supported at the expense of justice, and no wholesome trade requires such support. If the cultivation be, as it must be presumed to be, certainly as it ought to be, for the mutual advantage of both the producer and purchaser of the plant, it is not very easy to see why one party should be less eager for it than the other. If the ryot finds that on certain sorts of land at the price offered him for Indigo plant that cultivation pays him better than any other, if he finds that when he cultivates Indigo he is no less secure from ill-treatment than other people of his class, and if the peons and native servants of the Factory are not allowed to harass him so as to disgust him with the business, the manufacturer should be in no difficulty in such a wholesome state of things, he should have no more lawsuits to engage in, and should have no more cause either to fear or to hope from the interference of the Magistrate and the Police than any other man engaged in fair trade. It is the wholesome state of things which should be encouraged. But if the case be otherwise in any particular district, or with any particular Planter, the obvious inference is, that either Indigo is not naturally suited to that place, or that the remedy is in the hand, not of the Police, but of the Indigo Manufacturer himself.

(Signed) A. R. YOUNG,
Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

THE INDIGO SYSTEM AND SOWINGS.

THE RYOT AS A FREE AGENT.—It would appear from the report of the Indigo Planters' Association's meeting (of the 18th June 1859), that some evil-disposed magistrates, being moved, and seduced by the instigation of the devil, have been daring to talk to the ryots of rights. Well may Mr. Theobald be indignant, and talk of a petition to Parliament.

The idea of a ryot's rights!! Is it not laid down in Magna Charta, that a black man has no rights? Well may the Britishers fear that we are about to lose India from the incompetency of our rulers, when Magistrates begin to talk of a nigger's rights. As Mr. Theobald indignantly observes, "for Magistrates to encourage what is at once contrary to law and morality, and to the fair interests of capital, is intolerable. If Magistrates choose to step out of the proper line and teach rights, they should proclaim the planters' rights as well as those of the ryots. Abstractedly it is true a ryot is free to cultivate or not to cultivate indigo or any other production. But if he takes money for a particular cultivation for a particular season, whether of indigo or anything else, he *pro tanto* exchanges his freedom for a new condition; and a Magistrate who tells the ryots they are still free while under such engagements, preaches false doctrine and bad law, and is a firebrand to the population!!!" Now we all know, at least we have all been told, time after time, that the Secretary to the Indigo Planters has a monopoly of legal knowledge; he has taken every opportunity of impressing upon the public, that he is the only man in India who knows anything whatever about the matter; he is, in fact, a walking *corpus juris*. We shall not, therefore, of course endeavour to dispute a question of law with so distinguished a jurist, we only proceed *ad questionem facti*, is it "contrary to law and morals, and to the fair interests of capital," that a magistrate should endeavour to preserve intact the rights of the ryots to do what they like with their own? The ryots have interests of capital just as much as the planter. Is it contrary to morals that the Magistrate should refuse to allow a planter to come with a few hundred ploughs, and, under the pretence that the ryot's grand-father had borrowed money from him, which had never been repaid, sow the ryot's land with indigo, and never pay him for the produce? What would Mr. Theobald say, if the Government was to determine to supply the deficiency in the revenue, by sending down a detachment of troops to every indigo factory in the country, and if the officer in command of the party was to seize the planters by the ears, and order them at once to manufacture so many hundred maunds of indigo, at a price considerably less than the actual cost of production; and even out of the small sum given them to deduct one-third on various grounds—say, for instance, for stamps, &c., never used; or if the officer, in the case of the planter, being recu-

sant, was to lock him up in a godown, merely giving him enough to keep him alive ; or supposing him to be an influential man, with relations likely to make a row, to forward him secretly from Kishnaghur to Myensing, and thence to Dacca, and then round by Malda, keeping him there, until he signed a bond, agreeing to everything that was demanded of him, and then, and not till then, releasing him? Would Mr. Theobald call this a contract, and consider it against law and morals, if a Magistrate was to tell the planter who came to lodge a complaint, that such a mode of increasing the revenue was illegal? Yet we should much like to know what would be the difference between Government treating the planters thus and the planters treating the ryots as they do now. There is no more a contract in the one case than the other. We do not profess to know as much about the law of contracts as Mr. Theobald, but we certainly always thought that there must be two parties to a contract, and that there must be at least some outward show of free will on both sides. We were not before aware that a mere assertion, on the part of the planter, that he, many years ago, advanced a small sum of money to a man, was sufficient to bind over that man's descendants, from generation to generation, as slaves to the party making the advance. Mr. Theobald pretends to believe—it can only be a pretence—that a ryot comes voluntarily and engages to sow a certain amount of land with a certain crop, for a certain season ; but he must know well that this is not the case ; but that, if even an actual money advance is ever made, it is some trifling sum, not sufficient to support a man for a week ; and does he suppose, for one moment, that a man, as fond of freedom as a Bengalee cultivator proverbially is, would exchange this freedom for “a new condition” for the sake of a few annas, which he knows he will have to repay one-thousand-fold, when he could, with equal ease, obtain the same sum from a native merchant, and only have to pay twenty-fold? It is not honest of the Secretary of the Association to argue as if any such thing as a *bond fide* voluntary contract existed between a planter and his ryots.

But even for the sake of argument, supposing that the contract was a voluntary *bond fide* engagement, for the mutual advantage of both parties, does a man by entering into such a contract “*pro tanto* exchange

his condition of freedom for a new condition?" And is a Magistrate in the wrong who prevents a planter from forcibly compelling a ryot to fulfil such contracts? Certainly not, a contract to cultivate indigo is exactly the same as a contract to do anything else, and a ryot disputing the contract has as much right to demand protection of person and property from all forcible attempts to compel him to fulfil his contract as any one else, until the claim is decided by a Civil Court. If Sir Morton Peto, or any other eminent contractor, was to contract to make a railway in this country, and was not to make it in the manner that the Railway Company thought they had a right to expect, would the Railway Company be acting legally in sending a number of myrmidons to bring Sir Morton before them, to carry off all his furniture and jewels, to ill-treat his family, and ultimately to flog him and confine him in a damp cellar until he satisfied all demands of the Company, and in addition gave handsome douceurs to every clerk and porter in the establishment? We expect that the police would interfere, and we think that Mr. Theobald would not question the legality of their interference. Is there then one code of law and morals for Morton Peto's and another for Shaik Buxoo's?

But this is on the false supposition that a voluntary contract actually exists. Let us take things as they really are. Suppose that Sir Morton Peto was out, and that a messenger from the Railway Company was to come and chuck down a bag of rupees in his door-way, and tell his family that it was an advance for a Railway he was to construct at such and such a price: suppose that the money was not ever picked up, but that the messenger was to call upon a couple of his own servants to witness that the money was actually thrown down: suppose that, on account of Sir Morton's absence, his nearest male relative was seized and was carried off to the Company's Office, and the end of a pen put into his hand to touch, and that the touch of the pen by Sir Morton's cousin was to be considered by the head of the office as equivalent to Sir Morton's signature to a contract that he had never seen: or suppose that the contract was never actually written at all—would the Railway Company be justified in calling upon the Police to compel Sir Morton to make the Railway? Would Sir Morton be held *pro tanto* to have ex-

changed his freedom for a new condition ? if not, why should the ryot be held to have done so under precisely similar circumstances ? Would a Magistrate who refused to punish Sir Morton be held up as “a fire-brand to the population ?” We trow not; but, according to Mr. Theobald’s unprejudiced “judicial mind,” he is one.—*Indian Field*, June 25, 1859.

OPIUM AND INDIGO.—There is one part of Mr. Theobald’s report that deserves further notice, and this is the argument that “the Government, whose relation to the ryots in the open districts is very like that of the planters in the indigo districts, has found the want of a special law for the protection of its capital ; and the same law ought to be extended to the indigo districts.” The most charitable way of viewing this assertion is to assume that Mr. Theobald knows as little of the system of opium cultivation as he pretends to do of the system of indigo cultivation. We need not go into the question on this occasion, though possibly we may hereafter. Suffice it to say that the opium is grown under advances, the cultivator brings his crop to the factory, is paid up at a very high rate in full, and his account closed within a week of the delivery of the drug ; his payments amounting to from Rupees 25 to 30, or sometimes Rupees 35 per beegah. The ryot who sows indigo has Rupees 2 forced upon him against his will : if he refuses it, he is imprisoned, beaten, and starved. Of this sum he gets fleeced before he leaves the premises. The average produce of a beegah fetches Rupees 2 ; if his produce is in excess of his advance, still he is kept on the books, and an old advance of thirty years before juggled into his accounts. Government from time to time changes the price which is paid for the opium, so as to assimilate it to the rates that the ryot could obtain for the *most profitable* crop. The planter has *never* changed his price, but has changed his measure for the worse : the measuring chain of old days was many feet shorter than the present chain. Government exercises no influence to induce the alteration to take their advances. The planter notoriously purchases zemindarees and putnees to obtain power to compel his tenant to sow for him. The Government agencies are superintended by gentlemen of great responsibility and high social standing, who have no interest themselves in the produce of the factories. The indigo factories are either superintended by the owner, a man whose real

English feelings have been deadened by a long colonial life, impunity from punishment, social or legal, irresponsibility, and the working of a system which he probably found in force when he came to the country, and which is too profitable for him to care to alter until compelled to do so ; he is of course pecuniarily interested in getting as much indigo sown as he can, and as he has not a monopoly like the Government, but has a number of competitors all around him, he is sorely tempted to have recourse to the tyranny and oppression which have made the indigo cultivation the greatest curse under which the Bengal peasant suffers. Where the planter himself does not manage his own estate, it is made over to a manager, generally selected for his powers of nigger-driving, who receives a commission on the out-turn, and whose appointment depends entirely upon the amount of the dye he can produce. However, the systems are so entirely opposite, that it would take up column after column if we were to proceed to point out all the points in which they differ ; suffice it to say that so long as England keeps India the planters never shall and never will have an Act investing them with the powers exercised by the Government opium agents. We extract elsewhere a very sensible letter on this subject from a Mr. Hutchinson, who resides apparently in the centre of the greatest indigo-growing district in Bengal, in most of whose arguments we concur.—*Indian Field*, November 26, 1859.

[*The following is the letter referred to above.*]

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

DEAR SIR,

IN the proceedings of the Central Committee Indigo Planters' Association, dated 11th instant, and published in the *Hurkaru* of the 19th idem, I find that the Secretary remarked that " the Government, whose relation to the ryots in the Opium districts is very like that of the planters' in the Indigo districts, has found the want of a special law for the protection of its capital ; and the same law ought to be extended to capital employed in Indigo cultivation. Do the planters

actually want the *same special law*, and are they prepared to take it for "better and for worse?" If they have the *same special law*, will they act like the Government? On the representation of the Opium ryots the Government has sanctioned an increase of 8 or 12 annas on every seer of Opium. Will the planters do the same to their Indigo ryots? Are the planters prepared to close their Indigo Concern at the *same time* with the Government, should the latter give up Opium cultivation? It must be borne in mind, before the planters make a rash promise to suit their present interest, that there is a voice already raised in England against the Government for its connection with the Opium trade, and that voice will ultimately prevail. .

The Government, for divers reasons, may have *special laws* for the protection of its interest, which, in reality, is the interest of the community; so the planters need not look enviously at the temporary gains of the Government from the Opium trade. There will come a time when the planters will be allowed to manufacture Opium if they choose, but in the meanwhile let them study political economy, and know that Indigo as well as Opium can always be had for what it costs to produce it.

Like other traders the Indigo Planters must toil and win, or lose, without the intervention of a *special law*. Have the manufacturers of Silk or Saltpetre, Sugar or Tea, a *special law* to enable them to procure the raw materials from the ryots? Are not these traders of greater importance to the community than the ridiculously few proprietary Indigo planters whom we could name and count upon our fingers?

No legislation is necessary for the supply of Indigo leaf. The ryots will produce that *voluntarily* if they are adequately paid. The price of every commodity has been enhanced of late, save that of Indigo leaf, for which the planters will not consent to pay to the ryots more than the price of bygone years. No planter will, on his honour as a gentleman, contradict my assertion. For the said unreasonableness, and other minor oppressions, the ryots do not agree to *fresh advances*; hence the constant rows between the planters and the ryots.

Perhaps the planters may urge, "never mind the *fresh advances*, let the ryots pay us the old debts." To this I would reply that the planters themselves have reduced the ryots to their present state of irretrievable indebtedness by advancing money on imprudent and usurious conditions, and therefore the planters, like other tradesmen, must pay the penalty of their rash speculations. The planters may sue and win, and light their cigars with the decrees, if they please; but no good man would sympathize with persons who encourage immorality by making indiscreet advances to the needy ryots of Bengal.

In justice to the Secretary and the planters I should appear in my proper name, therefore I beg to subscribe,

Dear Sir, yours faithfully,
S. W. HUTCHINSON.

HAUSKHALLY, NUDDEA, }
The 21st November, 1859. }

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

DEAR SIR,

I FIND that in treating on Indigo matters in the *Hurkaru* of the 10th instant, you have wasted much space to no purpose by quotations from the *Calcutta Review* and *The Indian Field*. The public at large do not want to know what Mr. Bomwetsch or Mr. E. Underhill thinks of the planters, and most of your readers care a fig whether the "occupying tenants" in Indigo districts are better fed and clad than their sable brethren in other parts of Bengal. The quotations are inapplicable to the present demand of the planters and occupying tenants, and a sound lawyer would have eschewed the testimony of Mr. E. Underhill in the present instance. Their demand hinges on the principles of free trade, *voluntary* labour, and *adequate* wages—remuneration, and it can be determined only by the accepted rules of political economy, a science sadly neglected by the Anglo Indians, including Editors, Priest, and Planters, though each and all of them have their ambition and visions of honorary seats at the Council Board. Amongst other things, Mr. E. Underhill, it seems, does not approve of "occupying tenants managing

the lands as they please ;" and he would subject the occupying ryots to the will and taste of the zemindars and planters, because the lands near the farms and factories look so pretty. If so, with what consistency, or show of reason, could the occupying tenants be made to pay rent for lands which they may not use or cultivate as they please, it is hard to guess ; perhaps you will enlighten us. Moreover, is the pretty appearance of lands near factories a criterion of the happiness in the home of the ryots ?

There can be no doubt that it is not the planters' interest to oppress the "occupying tenants," and that planters are driven to oppression (as Mr. E. Underhill says) by the falsehood and roguery of the ryots. Tradesmen learn to conduct their business from experience, planters should do the same. We hear them complaining against the ryots, and calling them rogues, niggers, liars, and a hundred similar epithets. If the ryots are really so bad, why not avoid doing business with them ? Do not engage them, nor make advances for Indigo leaf. Employ coolies and Boonnahs, and thereby teach the ryots that honesty is the best stepping-stone to competence and contentment. Boonnahs and coolies can always be had for what they cost to procure them, and there is the country with all its fatness before the planter. On his skill and honest dealings depends his fortune. He has the advantage of the law too in his favour. Of all persons, the planter has best cause not to complain against the law of the country. It is always within his reach, and his wealth and position greatly assist him to wield against reculant ryots. But I am digressing, and it is time to conclude. Before doing so please let me hold you by the small finger. You require a little support when treading on Indigo ground. Though I have not seen any one of the charges or petitions of the ryots, yet from what I hear, I can safely tell you that amongst other things, their chief demand is to be left alone ; they do not wish to take advance, nor enter into contracts for Indigo leaf ; so you need not fear of the ryots "repudiating their engagements." They are not willing to enter into contracts. It is the planter that is anxious to have the ryots do so, for it is less expensive.

Instead of indulging in malicious innuendoes, brutal attacks on individual characters, crude and cursory quotations from depositions, and

silly verbal criticisms, editors of *Anglo-Indian journals* would do well were they to write, and invite discussion, on the present demand of their planter friends and constituents, and the Indigo ryots. The demand is based on political economy, and planters that can write should join. They will find this less expensive than club and spear law. Government and the community will listen to reason, but never succumb to brute force.

remain, dear Sir,

Yours obediently,

W. L. HUTCHINSON.

HAUSKHALLY, NUDDEA, }
12th January, 1860. }

THE evidence is fast gathering to fulness. It is now patent to the world that the Indigo Planters are a class of petty tyrants, and that the ryots in the indigo planting districts are treated no better than the cotton producers of the Slave States. The truth is no longer confined to the bosom of Mofussil society. All that we have hitherto said against the class have been proved to be no colouring. One of the latest witnesses to the fact is a European gentleman, a resident in an indigo-growing district. Mr. S. W. Hutchinson, in the *Hurkaru* of the 23rd instant, calmly writes :—" No legislation is necessary for the supply of indigo leaf. The ryots will produce that *voluntarily*, if they are adequately paid. The price of every commodity has been enhanced of late to the ryots more than the prices of by-gone years. No planter will on his honour as a gentleman contradict my assertion." A little further on, he says, " for the said unreasonableness and other minor oppressions, the ryots do not consent to *fresh* advances ; hence the constant rows between the planters and the ryots. Perhaps the planters may urge, " never mind *fresh* advances, let the ryots pay us the old debts ! " But " the planters themselves have reduced the ryots to their present state of irretrievable indebtedness by advancing money on imprudent and usurious conditions. " No plaintiff would wish for better evidence in his favour from the mouth of his opponent's witness. Here is not only a simple assertion, but an assertion coupled with a challenge. "*No planter will, on his honour as a gentleman, contradict my assertion.*"

Verily this is a fine pass for the planters ;—they are threatened to be bullied into confession. We shall be heartily gratified to see some brave spirit take up the glove, for it is of a nature that cannot well be passed by. In it are at stake their *honour* and *reputation*. Be a coward and lose reputation, or maintain it at the risk of defeat. But what is this assertion to which such a merciless condition is attached? Why, it is nothing more or less than that the employment of forced labour in the cultivation of indigo, and forced labour of the most odious kind, is part and an essential part of the indigo planting system in Bengal. “The ryots will voluntarily produce that, if they are adequately paid.” The plain construction of this is that the ryots of Bengal are as yet driven to their work by the Bengal Legrees, by the wrack and the pock ; that, far from receiving adequate prices for their marketable labour, they are forced to live on advances, nay to pay their *old debts* (Heaven knows when made and how contracted, and to what amount) ; give up the use of their land, the use of their ploughs, the use of their limbs even, for the raising of the indigo crop, the profit on which is, to go solely to gorge the avarice of their usurers ; while the poor wretches, with their famished families, are reduced to starvation ;—compliance to the will of the tyrant all the while being secured by *minor oppressions*, by which mild phrase Mr. Hutchinson no doubt intends putting in iron, locking up in chunam godowns, horse-whipping, and if need be, looting and setting fire to houses. This is the picture of the independent Briton drawn by a friendly hand ; by such means as these does he develop the resources of the country, and promote the welfare of her sons ; in such a way as this he civilizes the nation ; with such motives as these he earnestly petitions Parliament for settling his class in colonies throughout the land ; such are the men who style themselves the true representatives of the British public !!!

The worst feature of the case is that the law will afford no remedy. The planter is above the law. He laughs at it, he scorns it, he defies it. It was only a few months ago that Mr. MacArthur, of the Meergunge Factory in Zillah Jessore, was fined for a piece of factory outrage, and what is more, shown up pretty conspicuously in the newspapers. Hear from a correspondent about his further doings :—

"We hear on good authority that the people of some villages within the sub-division of Magoorah in Jessore, have complained to the authorities of the oppressions of the notorious Mr. MacArthur of Meergunge Factory, who was a short time ago fined for unlawfully keeping several men in irons. It appears that the villagers refused to sow indigo for his factory on the terms dictated by him, consequently the above planter threatened to plunder and burn their villages.

"We are informed that since the above complaint was made, the said planter has actually plundered some houses of the villagers in the face of the police who seem to be paid by the planter, and, not being satisfied with plunder obtained on this occasion, is again preparing to plunder and demolish all the houses of the villagers who complained against him."—*Hindoo Patriot*, December 3, 1859.

THE CEREMONY OF ADVANCING.—The worship of the blue Mammon is yearly inaugurated with the ceremony of making advances. Most of our readers who hear so much of the liberality of the factory in making these advances and the rascality of the ryot in not working it off have probably never witnessed it. A description therefore will not be unacceptable to them.

About the months of Kartic and Aghran the factory ameen makes out a list of all the cultivator class of ryots inhabiting the villages which comprise a factory line, with the number of ploughs and bullocks, and the extent of land which each individual is master of at the time, and submits it to the Gomashita or the native Superintendent who, after consulting with his European superior as to the number of beegahs which would be that year laid under indigo plant, makes a distribution of the whole quantity, noting down opposite the names of the ryots in the list, and the number of beegahs which each of them would be required to cultivate. This is done by the factory servants, of course without consulting the cultivators or even endeavouring to ascertain whether they would be able to meet the engagements to be imposed upon them. A month or fifteen days after this, the ryots are ordered to

repair to the factory, and the factory Tageedgir brings them much as a shepherd would drive in his flock. Very generally the advance-money is paid by the native Gomashta, but in some cases, to meet conscience and public opinion, the task is undertaken by the Superintendent himself. The ryots crowd in the open compound before the verandah, where the Saheb sits in a chair surrounded by his native subordinates, who squat on the floor with the account books, and with purses containing money. If there be a big tree in the compound the ryots are fortunate enough to obtain some protection from the sun, if not, they are obliged to stand exposed to its rays. The Mohurir of the factory then calls out the name of a ryot from the list before him and then sings aloud to the effect :—" You Nazir Mahmood of Neelcooteepoor, last year you cultivated two beegahs of land with indigo, but as by the report of the ameen it appears that you have purchased additional cattle, you are to cultivate one beegah more this season, you are booked for three beegahs from this year. But the factory accounts show a balance of four rupees against your name, so deducting that sum from six rupees, which is the amount to which you are entitled this season for three beegahs, there are left two rupees, from which again deduct two annas on account of a stamp paper for your kuboolcut, 12 annas for the price of indigo seed to be supplied to you at four annas per beegah and six annas for the repair of roads at one anna on every rupee, in all making a total of one rupee and four annas, the sum which you are now to receive for the cultivation of three beegahs amounts to 12 annas. Now come forward and take it, the Saheb will pay you with his own hands." No sooner is this speech ended than, "Dohye Saheb," Nazir Mahmood screeches out, "Do not burden me with an additional beegah, for I will not be able to cultivate so many as three beegahs. I came here with the purpose of soliciting you to relieve me of one of the two beegahs which I have hitherto sown with indigo. For God's sake, take mercy on me, Saheb ; Allah has taken away from me only two months ago my eldest son, who was the prop of my old age and the chief assistant in my labours of the field, he it was who ploughed your indigo lands, and it was through his exertions that my whole family got a mouthful of paddy every day to support our strength. But he has for ever left us, and his two brothers are mere boys who have not yet learnt to hold the

plough. Since my eldest boy's death other afflictions have come upon me, somehow or other I am afflicted with a sore leg, for which, if I am not speedily cured, I will scarcely be able to go out to the fields myself. The new bullock reported by the Ameen was purchased by my son before his death, but has been mortgaged by me to defray the expense of his sickness and funeral. May God increase your riches and make you Governor of this country, but be kind enough to deliver me from your khata." "Neel hoga" is the brief answer of the Saheb. "Dohye Saheb," again shrieks out the man. A reply as brief as the first is impatiently vouchsafed. Nazir Mahmood becomes somewhat obstreperous, upon which the Tagedgir and Chuprasee bound towards him, and after a shower of blows and slaps, pull him forward. "Then kill me, you all," is the grumble with which Nazir Mahmood resigns himself to his fate. "Bring him here to receive his advance-money," calls out the Mohurir, and the man is shoved forward close to the Saheb. "Hold forth your hand," the man with great reluctance obeys, and the Superintendent drops three quarter pieces in his hands. The Saheb then asks him "how now, have you got your money?" "Yes, Sir," doles out Nazir, "but what am I to do with these three little silver bits?" "Throw it in yonder stream of water, if you like," is the prompt reply. Another ryot is called. The same scene, with some little difference in the details, is enacted until the whole ceremony is concluded, or in some cases the Saheb, tired of the business, and hearing his khansamah announce tiffin or breakfast, hastens to satisfy craving nature, leaving the remainder in the hands of his Gomashta.—*Hindoo Patriot*, March 31, 1860.

THE CONTRACT.—Some speculation is of course afloat as to the sort and amount of evidence that the Magistrates will require from those who file complaints under the recently enacted Ryots' Coercion Act. Some Magistrates, probably, will be satisfied with the factory oath and the factory *khatta*; while others might insist upon additional testimony of a more trustworthy kind. Inexperienced Magistrates might even possibly call for the *kuboolcut*, the deed of contract, for the preparation of which on stamped sheets they will observe entries in the *khatta* books of two annas or four annas against the Ryot.

Not a factory, we believe, will be able to produce a properly executed deed attesting an engagement, except planters who, like Mr. Mears, have agents in Magistrates like Mr. Skinner. The planter of these days no more thinks of spending the two or four annas he charges to the Ryot's account for stamp paper than he does of having the indigo plant measured by the old three cubits' chain. As to fabrication of documents, that to be of any service, must be done upon a scale practically impossible. The oath and the khatta will be the principal evidence producible, and the degree of dependance to be placed upon the latter as a voucher for cash payments may be deduced from the circumstance alone of how the stamp money is applied.

There is one description of kubooleuts, however, which might be produced in numbers. It is those which were executed years ago, when planters were more careful in their proceedings than they have of late found it necessary to be, and the term of which extends to the present year. We subjoin a true translation of one of these documents which most of our readers must be curious to see.

To ———

This is written by me Scheedam Doss, this deed of contract for growing indigo. Whereas yourself and your brother ——— purchased in 1260 *Sal* the ——— factory, and you have since by partition and demarkation come into sole possession of the above factory and its outstandings; and whereas on an adjustment of the account resting on my previous contract to grow indigo for the above factory there appears a balance of rupees two against me. In consideration of those two rupees, and two rupees more which I now take in advance, I engage to cultivate two beegahs of land with indigo plant for your above named factory, from 1262 to 1271 *Sal*, being a period of ten years; I engage to deliver their produce annually at the factory, and according to former custom the price thereof shall be calculated at the rate of nine bundles per rupee. The price of seed, cost of conveyance, and of whatever other means of cultivation I may receive from the factory, shall be deducted therefrom. Should any balance remain in my favour, I shall receive it in cash. Should the balance be against me, I will discharge it by growing indigo in the

ensuing year on as many beegahs as shall be covered by the amount thereof, at the rate of two rupees per beegah. Should the price of the plant cover the amount of the advance, I shall annually take an advance to the extent abovementioned during the term of this engagement. Should I make default in cultivating or selling the produce to any body else, I shall be liable to damages to the extent of the value of the corresponding quantity of wrought dye. To this effect I execute this deed according to the contract I have entered into. Dated ———

The above is a document from a factory in the Hooghly district, where the bundle is a considerably smaller measure than in the districts east of the Hooghly, where it is no measure at all, except of the rapacity, injustice, and power of the planter. This accounts for so many as nine bundles being contracted for at the rupee. The corresponding quantity of wrought dye means, at the pleasure of the planter, twenty to forty rupees, a rather heavy guarantee for the fulfilment of the contract, which again is protected by the material guarantee of the ryot's person and home, and the immaterial guarantee of his wife's honour.

Now, we ask any unprejudiced person whether any man who is a free agent will in his senses enter into a contract of the above description? Whether the document does not on the face of it bear evidence of its execution having been enforced by threats and intimidation? Whether it is not a record of tyranny and oppression, of misrule and misgovernment?

And, it is to give effect to such contracts that the Legislature has abolished the usual securities afforded by the law and the constitution of the established courts of justice.—*Hindoo Patriot*, April 7, 1860.

THE PLANTERS' DEFENCE.—The opponents of the indigo system will now have easy times of it, for their "enemy has written a book," or what is quite as much to the purpose, a letter to the daily press. Our object throughout has been to endeavour to draw a reply from some of the representatives of planting interest. We have tried the seductive, the abusive, the enquiry, the communicative, and fifty other different tones in treating of the subject, in the hopes of exciting that "calm and

temperate discussion" which the planters always profess to desire, but which they so carefully avoid. Having, however, baited our hook with a Missionary—a temptation which no planter was ever yet known to resist—we have at length got a rise, and having hooked our fish, can now afford to let him drown himself leisurely.

We own that we wish that the champion of the planters had been any one rather than Mr. Furlong, for we believe that he is one of about half a dozen planters who see the oppressive and dishonest nature of the existing system as well as we do ; but who, not having sufficient courage to break through the trammels of the planter caste, go on year after year growing Indigo under a system which they know to be wrong merely because their neighbours will not reform,—a course of proceeding to which they reconcile their consciences by endeavouring to deal as leniently with the natives as their occupation will admit, and avowing their readiness to adopt a better system if they only saw a chance of its *paying*, but who, however, we are afraid, do not take any very active measures to convince their brother planters of the errors of their ways. If we are to discuss the subject, we must say we had far sooner have seen the planting interest represented by a MacArthur, White, or Tripp, or some other of the many out-and-out Anglo-Saxons who really believe that the black man was created for the sole purpose of hoeing cane and growing crops without payment for the white man, who preach—nor only preach, but also practise what they preach—that it really benefits the people of this country as a nation to be made to sow not what crop pays them best, but what crop pays the planter best ; and that it is absolutely necessary for the permanency of our rule in this country that the unfortunate ryots should be locked up in godowns, thrashed with stirrup leathers, carried about from district to district in confinement, and even sent occasionally abruptly from this *mortal vale* to that bourne whence no ryot returns, and where there are neither planters, nails, gomashas, nor stirrup leathers ; and perhaps, as regards this last mode of benefiting the people of this country, they are right. Death must be a relief to many an unfortunate cultivator after spending months in a dark, damp godown. But to return to Mr. Furlong. In a late issue we published a petition presented by certain ryots of a village named Sharbarri, in

Nuddea, to the Lieutenant-Governor, complaining that on the 17th of October last, the servants of Mr. Furlong forcibly entered their fields which were sown with mustard, and sowed a crop of indigo over the mustard ; that they had complained to the Magistrate of the district, who had heard the evidence of their witnesses, and believing the case to be *prima facie* proved had summoned the aggressors, but that he had not taken the necessary measures to secure the attendance of the defendants and that the case was consequently still pending in the Magistrate's Court. From correspondence sent to us for publication by Mr. Furlong, apparently with the full conviction that its perusal would convince the public of the falseness of the Sharbarri ryots' petitions, it would seem that on seeing the petition, in this journal, Mr. Furlong wrote to Mr. Sibbald, and asked him whether there was any truth in the petitioners' allegations, at the same time giving him a quiet hint that " he hoped to hear that they are entirely untrue, or at any rate greatly exaggerated." Mr. Sibbald, as a matter of course, says that the allegations are quite untrue, and to prove it argues, *first*, that if it had but been so, " the ryots would have complained to him, as he lives only two miles from the place." The ryots would, in the opinion of Mr. Sibbald, naturally have complained to the aggressor of his own acts. *Secondly*, he states that the indigo was clearly sown by the ryots themselves, as " can be proved to any one riding over the indigo lands," by the fact of mustard and indigo being seen growing in the same field. We should in our innocence have thought that this would be rather evidence of the truth of the ryots' complaints to the effect that indigo had been forcibly sown over their young mustard crop ; but Mr. Sibbald argues otherwise, and Mr. Furlong appears to be satisfied. The public are not so green or blue as to believe what Mr. Sibbald evidently expects them to believe, that ryots of their own free will sow indigo and mustard together. That they do sow a double crop is we fear too true, but it is only owing to the presence on the *mat* of a number of latteals and *togetgars*. Mr. Sibbald admits, however, that the ryots did complain to the Magistrate, and that the case is still undecided : three months after the outrage was committed, he endeavours to prove that the ryots have brought a false charge, by stating that the servants who are called by them *latteals* are his own regular servants, and are entered as such in the *issanabissee* of servants, which is annually filed

in the Magistrate's Court. The distinction is ridiculous, and is simply met by the fact that if they had not been latteals, they would not have been employed as factory servants. "The charge in the Magistrate's Court," says Mr. Sibbald, "was brought because he had previously brought a charge against the ryots for breaking up his indigo plant." Now, what does Mr. Sibbald mean by *his* indigo plant? Is it indigo sown by himself or his servants on his own *Khamar* land? or is it the indigo which he wishes us to believe was voluntarily sown by the ryots on *their* lands under the factory advances, according to a *bond file* contract? We apprehend from his subsequent remarks that he means the latter. If so, how is this Mr. Sibbald's plant? He merely, according to his own showing, gives an advance for the cultivation of a certain amount of indigo to be delivered at a certain place at a certain time. Now what right has Mr. Sibbald to the plant, or to interfere in any way with the ryot until the time for the fulfilment of the contract has arrived? If when the time specified in the contract has expired the indigo is not forthcoming, Mr. Sibbald would, like any other person, have his action in the Civil Court for breach of contract, but it is always optional with the ryot to produce this indigo in any manner most convenient to himself; he may sow it in one place, plough it up and sow it again in another fifty times without Mr. Sibbald having any right to interfere. The land is the ryot's and not his, and the fact of Mr. Sibbald having the assurance to go into the Magistrate's Court, and complain of the ryot ploughing up his own crop sown by himself on his own land, is quite enough to prove the mistaken notions that the planters have of the relative position of themselves and their ryots. The ryot would be the sufferer by the destruction of his own crop, not the planter; and if the cultivation of indigo is voluntary, which Mr. Sibbald does not believe, but which he would have us believe, it is inconceivable that a ryot should go and injure his prospects by destroying his own crop. If the indigo was remunerative, what possible motive could he have in so doing? This very fact is to our minds conclusive evidence that the indigo is not sown voluntarily.

We now come to Mr. Furlong's other appearance in the columns of the *Englishman*, in which he attacks the Revd. Mr. Bomwetsch for

taking the part of the ryots, and from which it would appear that he had applied to the bishop to insist upon Mr. Bomwetsch shutting his eyes to all the oppression and tyranny which is going on around him. The bishop had better leave the matter alone we think ; for Mr. Furlong has no more right to demand his interference in the matter than the ladies who do not pay their milliners' bills have to ask the Archbishop of Canterbury to insist upon S. G. O. desisting from the letters on that subject, which he has just written to the *Times*. The planters, however, were the first to begin the attack upon the Missionaries ; they most unjustifiably and disgustingly commented upon the domestic affairs of a Missionary in the hopes of frightening him from telling what he knew of their system. In this they failed, and they must make the best they can of their case without the help of the bishop. The planters have one invariable motive to assign to all those who endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the cultivating classes, and it is perhaps the most puerile and ridiculous retort that could be imagined. They accuse all, from the highest official to the hard-working and self-denying Missionary, of "*jealousy*." What the planters have that others have not, which causes the universal jealousy of their class we cannot conceive, and we think that the planters would find it rather hard to explain their meaning.

The great authority brought forward to confute the charges against the planting system is Rammohun Roy, who declared, in the time of Lord W. Bentinck, that he had lately taken a tour through Bengal, and did not notice that the ryots in indigo districts were worse off than the rest of the people. He even thought them better clothed than the generality of the Natives. But what did Rammohun Roy know of the matter ; on a question of Unitarian doctrine, we do not doubt that he was a great authority, but he never was in a position to speak with authority as to the condition of the people in indigo districts ; he made a hurried tour through "several districts in Bengal" and his remarks are no more entitled to respect in the face of the most contrary evidence, than the letters to the *Times* of that most ridiculous imposter, Wingrove Cooke, on the same subject. Moreover, Rammohun's evidence was given thirty years ago, whereas we speak only of the condition of the people in the present time. This constant assertion that the peo-

ple in the Indigo districts are better off than those in Rice districts, and the usual deduction therefrom that Indigo cultivation is beneficial to the people, is one of the most fallacious arguments that have ever been put forward in defence of the planters ; it is the result of the most extraordinary confusion of cause and effect ; the fact is, that the Planters are in these districts because they are rich, not that the districts are rich because of the planters. What could a planter do in the marshes of a Rice district, where Indigo would not grow ? They naturally avoid such places, and go to the fine soil of Nuddea and Jessore, &c. The question for consideration is, not whether the inhabitants of a fertile province are better off *in spite of the planters* than the inhabitants of low marshes, where the nature of the soil confines them to the cultivation of one crop ? but we must consider what would have been the condition of the people of Nuddea, Jessore, and other Indigo districts, if they had been allowed the free use of their own splendid land for the growth of crops of tobacco, sugar-cane, jute, and oil seeds, or perhaps cotton, instead of being compelled to sow a crop which even the planters admit does not repay the ryots the cost of cultivation ? Moreover, we understand on excellent authority, that within the last three years, owing to the high price of grain, the people of the rice districts of Eastern Bengal are by no means in a state of "squalid poverty," but are in a most thriving and prosperous condition.

Mr. Furlong admits that on his izharas one-tenth of the land is taken up with the cultivation of indigo, and as a matter of course this is one tenth of the very best land picked out by the factory servants. Then to show the magnanimous generosity of Nuddea planters, he proceeds to give figures, the object of which is to show that the Nuddea district embraces an area of 6,926,733 beegahs, that the indigo cultivation is 2,50,000 beegahs, and that therefore the planters, though really the landlords of fully two-thirds of the districts, do not occupy on their own account more than the thirtieth part of its area, a pretty good portion too when we consider that they have no right to any of it ; but we think we can show that Mr. Furlong's figures are as defective as the rest of his arguments. To find the net magnanimity of these gentlemen, we must deduct the portion of the land they take from the ryots, not from the

whole area, but from the *culturable portion of that area*, and must show what portion they could sow with indigo, and what having this option, they decline to avail themselves of, out of feelings of "*generosity to the people to whom the land belongs.*" From the area of 6,926,733 beegahs, we must first deduct one-third for fallow garden-grounds, woods, villages, roads, and waste (this being the proportion admitted by Mr. Furlong in his letter, when describing his own talook). We must next deduct another third to represent that portion of the district over which Mr. Furlong says the planters have no control ; and the total culturable area then over which the planters exercise zemindaree rights is brought down to 2,308,911 : deduct one-half of this as land suited to the cultivation of rice and other crops, but which will not grow indigo, and we have left in round numbers 1,154,455 beegahs, of which Mr. Furlong says 2,50,000 is cultivated with indigo ; so instead of appropriating only one-thirtieth of the area, they actually take one-fifth of the only land which would be of any use to them. And what right have they to this ? It is all very well to talk of their forbearance as landlords in taking so small a proportion, but their position as landlords gives them no more right to take a single beegah of the ryots' land than it does to sow the compound of Government House with indigo, or to build a factory on the Park at Barrackpore. Yet we find them admitting that they take 250,000 beegahs of the very best land in India, which, as far as the ryots are concerned, might as well be laying fallow ; for the cultivation of indigo is to the ryots actually a loss of labour and rent, and this we imagine Mr. Furlong will not deny. He says that the rate at which the produce is now taken from the ryots is four bundles for the rupee, whereas it used to be ten bundles. Now, in the first place, is Mr. Furlong quite sure that lately six bundles for the rupee were not taken at some of his factorics ? And is he also aware that our bundles of the present measurement is fully equal to ten bundles of the old measurement ? But say that one rupee is given for four bundles, how does that remunerate the cultivators ? Taking one village with another on an average of ten years, a very fair average crop of indigo is ten bundles per beegah (this we have on the authority of planters of greater experience than Mr. Furlong), which would give the ryot 2-8, deduct price of seed 8 annas, and there is a balance of 2 rupees in the

hands of the cultivators to meet the rent of his land, the wages of his own labour, and the profit thereof !! Why, he must be an actual loser of hard cash. Next, as to this same rent, Mr. Furlong takes considerable umbrage to his soul for letting his lands to the ryots at three beegahs for the rupee. But the fact simply is, that Mr. Furlong does nothing of the sort; the ryots are hereditary proprietors of the soil, and so long as they pay the land tax, which in that particular pergunnah is fixed at three beegahs per rupee, no one can touch them. Mr. Furlong could not raise their rent one pice if he wished it. We could go on pointing out other fallacies in Mr. Furlong's letter, but space and time press, and we have shown quite sufficiently for all purposes that his arguments are not to be depended upon. We do not attribute to him any intent to deceive, for we believe that, like many others of his class, he has by a long course of training taught himself to believe that the planters are the benefactors of their race. One fine day they will probably be rudely and roughly undeceived.—*Indian Field*, January 20, 1860.

MR. FURLONG.—Mr. Furlong on the present occasion commences by again quoting Rammohun Roy and Lord W. Bentinck's opinions in favour of the planters in 1829. As we said before, Rammohun Roy may be a very excellent man, and Lord W. Bentinck may be, as Mr. Furlong asserts, "the best and greatest Governor-General British India has hitherto enjoyed;" but they were neither of them at any time in a position to judge of the condition of the indigo districts, and certainly not of the condition of the cultivating classes of the present day.

Lord W. Bentinck's Minute, quoted by Mr. Furlong, was framed upon reports sent in by the Magistrates and Commissioners of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. Now if Mr. Furlong will look at these reports, he will see that the Bengal reports were mostly unfavourable to the planters; and from the North-Western Provinces—where the system is in no way the same as down here—the reports were favourable. Lord W. Bentinck struck a general average, and the Bengal planters got the benefit of the good character of the North-Western Province men; and the planters of Hindoostan were most unjustly saddled with a portion of the evil

repute of the dye-makers of Bengal. Independently of this, however, the European manufacturers of indigo of those days, not being allowed to hold lands, and zemindars had not the same power of tyrannising that the zemindar-planter of the present day has, they were more at the mercy of the producers of the plant, and were obliged to treat them to a certain extent honestly and fairly. Add to this that each district had then only one Magistrate, who scarcely ever left his sudder station, instead of some six or seven Magistrates constantly on the move through their districts as at present; and further take into consideration that many of these factories had belonged to the servants of Government, who were still even at that time more or less interested in the manufacture of the dye, and it is not difficult to understand how Lord W. Bentinck was induced to record a favourable opinion. Mr. Furlong asks if the system of advance and the relation of the ryots with the factory has been less liberal, or whether the Europeans employed in the indigo trade have become less honest than in those days. We do not hesitate in reply to say, that certainly the dealings of the planters have become far less liberal than they were: in those days advances were real money payments; in the present day two-thirds of the advances are nominal and have no existence out of the planter's books; they are mere paper advances, and even the wretched advance of Rs. 2 per beegah, in the exceptional instances in which it is really given, is not looked upon by either the donor or recipient as a fair trading advance, but as a sort of retainer, much as the barrel is put into the Commissariat boats—as shown in a late case at the Supreme Court—for the purpose of frightening the owner of the boat from running away after receiving cargo. The planter's advance is merely intended to frighten the ryot into the belief that, if after receiving it he does not grow indigo, he will be liable to punishment; and till the last year the ryots have fully believed that the receipt of an advance did subject them to imprisonment if they did not grow what the planter wished them to grow. If the advance was looked upon by the cultivators as an assistance given by the planter to enable them to produce a crop, what occasion would there be for men like Mr. MacArthur to lock their ryots up and starve them until they took the advance? Mr. Furlong knows as well as we do, that when a factory is in a tottering state, the planter gives a couple of rupees to any budmash who comes for it,

and is quite prepared to throw away some ten or twelve thousand rupees of his employer's capital in this manner, well knowing that the recipients of this so called advance have not an acre of land to their names, nor a plough or bullock in their possession. The money is not the planter's ; it belongs to some soft merchant or broker in Calcutta, who does not understand the factory system of double entry : the planter has a future to look to ; and to save his reputation, he squanders this money for the mere purpose of being able to inveigh against the dishonesty of the cultivators, the injustice of the Magistrate, and the looseness of the laws ; in short, to impute blame to every thing and every body but himself. This is the way in which the outstanding balances are made up, which figure so prominently in the Colonization Reports and the pamphlets of professional agitators.

Next, as to the degeneration of the Europeans employed in the trade, we readily admit they are more educated, more gentleman-like, and in every thing unconnected with the cultivation of indigo more upright and conscientious than some who preceded them ; but we cannot admit that they are more straightforward in their dealings with their weak neighbours. We are quite prepared to believe that there is not a planter's house in Nuddea into which " a clergyman or the most fastidious lady may not suddenly enter, and stay without seeing any thing or hearing one word that would be displeasing." Nay, we do not doubt that even a bishop might enter the dwelling-house of any planter, and hear nothing more unpleasant than a fantasia on the piano. We do not doubt that clergyman, lady, bishop, *Times'* correspondent, book-writer, or any other visitor, would receive the most hospitable, open-hearted reception that it is possible to conceive, and that under the influence of such hospitality they might be inclined really to believe their host's assertion that the ryots loved and adored him ; that the said host was a Lord Bountiful ; that the surrounding country, lately a desert or a forest, had been converted into a garden by the host's Anglo-Saxon energy and capital ; and by a little convenient grouping, the visitor might see the Lady Bountiful dispensing medicine to the Booneyah coolies, and chucking little Kowrahs affectionately under the chin. Such things have been done, Mr. Furlong ! But it is not with the dwelling-house that we have to do. Could the bishop,

clergyman, or fastidious lady go into the godown without seeing any thing displeasing? Could they go *incognito*, and hear my Lord Bountiful spoken of by the villagers one amongst the other? Could they go and see the land marked out for indigo? Could they see a ryot "taking his advance and signing his contract" without having their notions of the benefit indigo cultivation confers upon the people considerably modified? What does Mr. Furlong suppose would be their feelings on being told that a portion of the "fertile garden" was two short years ago a flourishing Brahminee village, which had been pulled down, and the site ploughed up because the residents thereof were supposed to use their influence in helping the ryots to resist the advances which the planter was forcing on them? What would they say if they went to the house of Seetul Turufdar, or any of the thousands of wretched beings like him in Bengal, who have been carried away forcibly by the planter's lattials, and never again heard of, their families left by the planter to starve but supported by the subscription of other ryots—fellow sufferers? Would Mr. Furlong call these "tales that he had heard of planters in days long gone by, which have rather surprised him? Does he not know that these things are to be seen and heard day by day within thirty miles of his own house? We had certainly believed Mr. Furlong to be a little more frank and honest; it is not enough that he should say these things do not happen in the concern of which he has charge: our assertion is that they are of daily occurrence in eighteen factories out of twenty in Bengal Proper. Our object is not to reform *James Furlong*, but the planting system, that system which, in spite of the substitution of Maraschino for Gin, of blue eyes for black, of bracelets for bangles, of the piano for the sitar, of the *Ratcatcher's Daughter* and *Villikins and his Dinah* for *hilly milly punneah* and *tazah be tazah*, has made the planter of the present day less of what is generally called an English gentleman than his predecessor of the last generation. The old style of planter knew that oppression was wrong; he felt that it could not be quite right for the strong to prey upon the weak: but the planter of the present day has grown up under a system which makes him really believe that tyranny is a necessary condition of the permanence of our rule, and that in taking the property of the black man he is doing him an honour and a benefit. Of the two we should prefer the disorderly

dwelling-house and the remnant of conscience, to the well-furnished mansion with its semi-detached prison house.

Now to return to Mr. Furlong's figures. He repeats his former assertion that the planter of the present day is more liberal than the planter of the past, because he only takes six bundles, whereas the man of the last generation took ten; but, as we said before, the four bundles of this day are quite equal to ten of the former bundles. With a refinement of cookery and furniture we have also a refinement of extortion. The old race of planter, if he had once made up his mind to robbery, used to steal in a straightforward sort of manner. The present planter takes full measure filled up and pressed down, and by a judicious arrangement of the small ends of the bundles and a lengthening of the measuring chain, squeezes ten bundles into five, and flatters himself that he is being very liberal. Next, Mr. Furlong says, that seed is supplied to the ryots at four annas per beegah, which is a mistake, for the ryot is more often charged eight annas, and in some concerns ten annas per beegah. Again, Mr. Furlong says, that the ryots could sow no other crops in spring except indigo and rice. He entirely ignores hemp, chillies, huldee, cutcho, sugar-cane, ginger, and several other crops of this sort, all of them most remunerative. Mr. Furlong apprehends that no one will endeavour to prove that rice is more remunerative than indigo. To this we can only reply that rice gives a clear profit of from Rs. 3 to 6 per beegah, whereas indigo, even if paid for, would give no profit at all, and as it never is paid for, is a loss of Rs. 2, exclusive of waste of land and trouble of growing and cutting. As to his assertion that no native would grow rice if it was not under the influence of poverty and his banker, we have no doubt he is correct. If a native could live and flourish without working, he very naturally would not work; but this feeling is not confined to ryots. If Mr. Furlong could live without a profession, it is very likely he would not be a planter, but he would think it rather unfair if Government was to make him distil rum for the troops without payment, on the ground that he was only a planter from necessity. A ryot may, perhaps, as Mr. Furlong says, buy rice more cheaply than he could grow it, but where is the money to come from

if he is not allowed the use of his land? If he was to trust to the profits of indigo growing for the supply of his rice, he would run a very poor chance of living for 24 hours. The next little inconsistency into which Mr. Furlong falls is by saying in one part of his letter that indigo cultivation has not increased for the last twenty-five years, yet that the cultivation of other crops has doubled; and that thirty years ago wherever he rode he witnessed scanty cultivation amid a wilderness of jungle where now all is likely a fertile garden: and this improvement in the face of the country he manages to attribute—by what process of reasoning it is difficult to conceive—to the indigo planters. If the indigo crop has remained stationary, it is because the planters cannot by all the means in their power get beyond a certain proportion of the land under that cultivation. The doubling of all crops except indigo is the strongest argument that Mr. Furlong could adduce against his own views of the question; it refutes his statement that no other crop will grow in Nuldea except indigo: it shows most convincingly that all other crops pay, and that indigo does not, for he can hardly hope to make the world believe that the planters would not extend the cultivation of indigo if they could do so, or that the ryots would not of their accord grow the crop if it paid them. The conversion of this wilderness into a garden is owing to the increased security of person and property, the exportation of rice and oil seeds, and the rise in the labour market, which has taken off the land the incubus of having to find employment for five times the number of cultivators that were necessary to prepare it for the crop. When there was no population living on wages, and no market, the ryots just kept enough land under cultivation to pay the mahajun and support a house full of lazy idlers: eight out of ten of these idlers are now employed as paid labourers, and the other two find that it is worth their while to produce a good crop to supply the wants of the paid labourers and meet the demand for export. When rice was selling at eight annas per maund, there was no encouragement to grow any great quantity of it; now that it fetches from Rs. 2 to 3, there is: and as all other crops except indigo have in like manner increased in value, the wilderness has become a garden in spite of the planters, who, as we have before shown, take one-fifth of the best soil for a crop which all admit does not pay the cultivator the expenses of growing it. Mr. Furlong

doubts whether the "most unscrupulous defamer of the planter" would say that rice was more remunerative than indigo. We need not refer to unscrupulous defamers to support our statement. If he will refer to the letters of the *Times'* correspondent when on his indigo tour, he will find a planter, Mr. Hampton, admitting to Mr. Wingrove Cooke over a social bottle of ginger-beer that indigo was not considered by the ryots so paying a crop as rice, but that the loss of the price of the crop was compensated for by the collateral advantages which the ryot gained of receiving his dozen stripes from the planter without trial, instead of having to go through the dilatory process of being tried before convicted, at a Magistrate's court 14 miles distant.

Mr. Furlong endeavours to shirk the question before us by arguing that even if the planters are tyrannical and unjust, the native zemindars are worse. Nobody ever said that the zemindars were not tyrannical, certainly not this journal; but that is not the question with which we are dealing. We should have thought it would stand to reason that an educated free-born Briton would be a kinder and more liberal person to have to deal with than a zemindar. Mr. Furlong, however, seems to think that this was not to be expected, and claims credit to his class that it is so. But any way, because the zemindars are bad, it does not follow that the planters are good. If a planter should ever have the misfortune to be tried for murder—a remote contingency, which we trust may not speedily be realised—it would, we apprehend, stand him in very little stead even before Sir M. Wells and a Calcutta Jury to plead that he was not liable to punishment for his crime, because he could quote an instance in which a more atrocious crime had been committed by a native. Mr. Furlong should confine himself to the question before the public—Are the planters a curse or a blessing to the country? Or, rather, he should devote his energies to proving that they are not a curse, for he would surely shrink from the labour of proving them a blessing now that he can no longer command the assistance of the great logomachist in proving that black is white. *Indian Field*, February 18, 1860.

INDIGO, SUGAR, AND SILK.—THE *Englishman*, who appears to be getting rather shy of unqualified denials of the truth of the charges so

universally brought against the Bengal planters, asks two questions in connection with this subject; the first is, why similar charges are not brought against the planters of Tirhoot, and secondly, why are not they brought against the sugar and silk factories, where the system of contract and advance are, he believes, precisely the same. To this we answer, the system is not the same; the planters of Tirhoot have until very lately been the most bitter denouncers of the system of Lower Bengal; they would not even employ an assistant in Tirhoot who had been brought up at a Bengal factory: cases are known in which assistants and managers have gone up to Tirhoot from Bengal, and been packed off about their business ten days after arrival.

The ryots of Behar would not stand the oppression that is patiently borne by the ryots of Bengal; a Hindoostanee bully would not by the assumption of any amount of "Yaghee" swagger alarm the villagers of Behar, whereas a man has only to curl his moustachios, tie a cloth round his chin, and put on a swagger to frighten the Bengalee cultivators out of their wits. The Tirhoot planters not being surrounded by such weak neighbours have been taught to respect the rights of others, and the consequence is, that none but respectable men who have made up their minds to fair dealing have ventured into Tirhoot. During the last few months, however, a few European adventurers, taking advantage of the cowed state of the people under the late reign of Terror, have endeavoured to introduce the Bengal system, and we do hear complaints from that quarter of ryots being made to sow forcibly a crop of indigo against their will. Mr. Solano's name is not altogether unknown to the public; but take them all in all, the planters of Tirhoot are a very superior race to the planters of Lower Bengal.

Next, as to the silk factors, their system of contract is in no way similar to that of the indigo planters; they are generally not zemindars: they give advances to pykars or middlemen, who act as their agents, go about from village to village and purchase cocoons, not at a rate fixed by the purchaser and enforced *vi et armis*, but at the market rate; the price being settled by demand and supply, and not by the shoe or the godown. If the planters would do the same, if they would leave the

indigo to find its natural price, the cultivation of that crop would soon become so remunerative that they would have more plant at their disposal than they would well know what to do with. The profits on each individual maund would be less, but the gross profits would be greater, the consciences of the planters easier, and the respect which the natives of the country would entertain for Englishmen and Christians more profound. This, however, the planters will not see; they argue that they are the zemindars and the conquering race, and it is very hard if they may not fix the price of a crop produced on the soil, the land tax of which they farm. We never, however, heard them argue that they had a right as zemindars to fix the price of tobacco and cereals, but this is, perhaps, because they do not deal in these commodities.

The only disgraceful disputes that occur in connection with silk are where Messrs. L. and Co.,—for instance,—of Moorshedabad, send off pykars with large advances to Malda or elsewhere to buy cocoons, and where these pykars, when bringing down boat-loads of these cocoons to their employers, are attacked by, say Messrs. J. and R. W.'s hired bravoos, and plundered of all they have purchased. Of course the *Englishman* thinks the pykars and the police are to blame for little accidents of this sort, and not the European gentlemen who organise the highway robbery; and perhaps he is right, for what right have the pykars to tempt men so little capable of withstanding temptation as Messrs. J. and R. W.? and what right have we to a police at all, or any other emblem of civilization in a country where there is one law for the strong and white and another for the weak and black?

It must also be remembered that the planter through his immunity from punishment is tempted, in cases where he chooses to say a native has failed in a contract with him, to constitute himself judge, jury, advocate, sheriff, bailiff, and clerk of the crown, in his own cause, and to give a verdict with heavy damages in his own favour, and to execute judgment by ploughing up and sowing the lands of the weaker, high-contracting party with his indigo. The silk factor cannot do this; he can make a ryot grow mulberry; but he would find it somewhat difficult, great man as he may be, to make the worms hatch or spin; he therefore thinks

it more to his interest to pay a fair price, and make it the interest of the ryot to look after his worms.

The sugar factor does not follow a system in any way resembling that of the planter ; he goes into the market, and sends his agents round to all the weekly sugar fairs in the neighbourhood, and buys up the sugar in competition with all the world at the price of the day. If he gives advances, it is to men who act as his agents. It is thus clear that the silk and sugar dealers do not come into collision with the ryots as the planters do ; the connection between the former and the people is that of buyer and seller, the connection between the planter and the ryots is that of master and slave,—hence the charges brought against the dye-maker and the popularity of the sugar-boiler.—*Indian Field*, February 25, 1860.

PLANTER ZEMINDARS IN NUDDEA.—WE have received a Bengalee letter from the ryots of Boyerbanda, Khaspoor, and Koolgachie, in the district of Nuddea, with a request that we should translate it into English and publish it in this journal. We would have gladly acceded to this request, but for the length of the communication, and sundry superfluities contained in it. We, however, give our readers the substance of the letter.

The writers commence with stating that they lived happily in their villages under their zemindars, the Rajpoot Roys of Nakassiparah, until the Bengalee year 1259, when family dissensions occurring among the Roy baboos, some of the sharers leased out their portions of the property to an indigo planter for the term of ten years. Up to that period, say the writers, they were pursuing their respective avocations unmolested, and were advancing in wealth and comfort ; but since the time portions of the property passed into the hands of the indigo planter they have not had a day of ease or happiness, and are gradually falling into poverty and distress. They thus recount their grievances :—They are compelled to take advances for the cultivation of indigo ; good lands which have been carefully prepared for the reception of rice seed are immediately “ marked ” for indigo ; so long as labour is needed for sowing and cleaning

indigo lands, no one is permitted to work for his own purposes ; when the indigo crop is ready, the ryots are made to gather it and store it in the factory godowns, but are allowed no remuneration for their labours ; not only is no remuneration received, but the factory servants have to be bribed in order to avoid ill-treatment ; resistance to oppression is punished with imprisonment in the factory cells, fines, burning of homes, &c. ; redress is not to be had from the courts, the presiding officers of which are on friendly terms with the planters ; the police officers stand in awe of the planters, whose influence over the magistrate they see and dread : many a good darogah has lost his situation in consequence of opposing the planters ; there is no law, no protection for the ryots.

It is the old tale. The public have been surfeited with accounts like these. The stereotyped form of oppression is reproduced in every village where a factory is established or which is annexed to a factory's demesnes. The plant, it has been proved over and over, cannot be grown with free labour unless at more honest rates, and these latter will not be paid. Its cultivation seriously interferes with agricultural operations generally, and that interference is pushed on by brute force. The Magistrate loves society and good cheer, or fears the Planters' Association and newspapers, and refers the oppressed ryot to the arbitration of the planter's friends. The planter's amlah draw those perquisites which under another system of misrule would be due to the police amlah.

We again refrain from imputing the blame of all this to the planters, and charge it to the official but unfaithful protectors of the people. The former find it at once profitable and safe to be dishonest and wicked ; and average human nature, in search of a fortune, cannot, under such temptations, be long expected to remain honest and of good principles. The planters must pay high rents and high interest, and live high too, it seems. This cannot be done by paying fair wages for labour or fair prices for produce. They must oppress, or be content with the ordinary profits of agriculture. If they have selected the former alternative, they have done what nine-tenths of mankind under similar circumstances would do. It is to prevent men from selecting that alternative that laws are made and governments exist. Had the oppression spoken of

in connection with indigo planting been confined to solitary places on the outskirts of some remote district, or been committed at exceptional times, the law and its ministers might have pleaded the imperfections of all human institutions or the infirmities of human nature. But such is not the case here. Oppression of the most odious kind is systematic with indigo planters. It is practised under the very eye of Government. It is tolerated, where not encouraged, by the magistracy. It is fostered and kept up in full vigour by the legislature. It remains to be seen how long more the conspiracy will last.

The writers of the letter before us next proceed to describe their condition as the ryots of a planter-landholder. They have sent us an account of the increase of rents and the new cesses imposed on them. The three villages formerly used to pay to the owners of the shares leased out to the planters Rs. 1,175-4 per annum. They paid to the planter-ezardar last year Rs. 2,225-10.

The latter sum is composed as follows :—

Rent, as formerly paid to the zemindars	1,175	4
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Additional cesses levied by the ezardar :

Ezardar's profit proper	148	14
Batta on coin	18	6
Gomashta's comforts	...	...	...	10	0
Making up original deficiencies in the assessment of rent	...	...	...	102	0
Making up for short measurement, in other words, a cess paid in deprecation of fre- quent and vexatious measurements	...	...	...	146	0
Fines on pycusth holdings	...	...	...	15	2
Commutation of fines for cattle trespass	...	...	...	143	0
Amlah charges	...	...	...	119	0
Festival and adjusting-accounts' fees	...	...	...	99	0
Canal binding and water rates	...	...	...	27	0
Commutation of fines for dust created by cattle passing over roads	25	0

Carried over	853	6	1,175
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Brought forward	853	6	1,175	4
The factory gomashtha's fees	47	0		
Ezardar's amlah establishment	150	0		
						<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	1,050	6
						<hr/>
Grand Total	...	...	...	...	2,225	10
						<hr/>

We fear we have not been able to render into intelligible English the technical Bengalee terms by which the several abwabs or cesses above noted are described. Our inexperienced readers might possibly be led, by the terms we have used, to believe that each item has its appropriate use. No such thing. The "batta on coin paid," no ryot's rupee that has lost a grain will be received by the gomashtha except at its bullion value. The "gomashtha's comforts" paid, still the gomashtha, when he favours the village with a visit, must have his wants, from fish to tobacco, duly supplied by the villagers. The fines for cattle trespass commuted, still each stray cow will be impounded. The theory is this:—The ezardar incurs these charges, suffers these losses, and acquires certain means of annoyance. They are all purchased off at such and such settled payments. But these payments are immediately by custom converted into permanent revenue. The commutation purchases off the conventional right of the ezardar to exercise his powers of extortion and annoyance, but that is no reason that the amlah should be estopped of their claims or the law defrauded of its dues.

We congratulate the ryots of Boyerbanda, Khaspoor, and Koolgachie on their exemption, as their own representations show, from such imposts as the *luttee-salamee*, or pecuniary homage due on the appearance of the club-armed paik before he lays down his club, or the *komor-kholanee*, that is due on his ungirding his waist-cloth, the—the list is sickening, though it may be easily made up in but many parts of Her Majesty's dominions in Lower Bengal.

The letter proceeds on to say:—"There is chur land on the bank of the Khurrea River, running past our villages. This land is sown with

indigo. It is about 350 beegahs. But for the cultivation of this large area, the saheb-ezardar keeps not one ox, one plough, or one labourer. On the day preceding that on which cultivation will commence on the chur, a khalasee from the factory comes to the villages with a drum, and proclaims with the beat of it, that to-morrow morning the cultivation of the saheb's *neezabad* of the chur will commence; every ryot is expected on the ground early to-morrow morning with his oxen, his ploughs, and his labourers, and to be there day by day until the land is cultivated; should any one disobey, he will have ten strokes of a shoe and be fined ten rupees. This is not an idle threat, but is carried rigidly into execution. Thus a chur, the cultivation of which would cost nearly four hundred rupees, is cultivated without the expenditure of a pice."

Ryots in indigo villages are, as our readers are aware, oftener driven to combinations than ryots elsewhere. Attempts have been made in these very columns to liken these combinations formed by ryots for the purpose of opposing a zemindar or an indigo planter to the strikes of labouring men in Great Britain. The comparison is fallacious. Whilst the artisan who furnishes in a strike displays some of the noblest qualities of human nature, and returns to his work a better man than when he left it, the ryot in a combination is driven to the lowest arts of chicanery and deceit, and when he fails is left completely at the mercy of his powerful opponent. Combinations do him no good.

We have given the above unvarnished tale as it has been told to us. Its truth is apparent on the face of it. There is an amount of suffering, misery, and degradation in our indigo-planting districts that is perfectly incompatible with the notion that organized Government exists in the country. It has shocked us. How long will it be said that its recitation falls flat upon the official soul?—*Hindoo Patriot*, December 24, 1859.

THE INDIGO SYSTEM.—THE indigo question is approaching to a solution. We propose to give a sober description of the whole system of indigo cultivation, as we think it would lead to a better understanding of that question. The agrarian rising in the indigo districts is the result of

a strong and irresistible desire to break off all connection with this system. We do not for the world wish the commission that is to be appointed to prejudge the case that will be laid before them, but we simply wish to contribute our quota of information. We fear it is a hopeless task to rouse the sympathies of the English public here in favour of the oppressed and impoverished ryots, but we do hope to see the day when the sympathies of the British public will be enlisted on behalf of that class.

A ryot possessing one plough and two bullocks is required by every indigo planter to sow four beegahs of land with indigo, the outlay and return for which are as follows :—

The cultivator gets in advance Rupees 8, of which Rupees 3 he has to pay to the planter's dewan, tagidgeers, and ameens, leaving Rupees 5 only to himself.

The ploughing, weeding, and other necessary expenses, including rent for 4 beegahs of land, come to not less than Rupees 40. The average produce is 64 bundles, of which almost one-half is taken on dustoory and other accounts ; for the remaining half of the produce, the cultivator gets credit in the planter's books at the rate of six bundles a Rupee, or a little more than Rupees 5 for the whole lot. This sum being deducted from the advance, there remains a balance of Rupees 3 against the cultivator after he has paid Rupees 35 to meet the cost of cultivation. For this balance, Rupees 3, he is charged interest at the rate of Rupees 37-8 per cent. per annum, or six pie per Rupee per month. At the next indigo sowing season, the balance, Rupees 3, above referred to, together with the interest accruing therefrom, is debited to the cultivator's account as advanced to him to carry on the indigo cultivation again in that season, at the close of which his debt to the planter becomes more than treble of what it was at the end of the first season. Again, his expenditure in the second season is Rupees 40, or Rupees 5 more than that of the first season. In the third season the debt increases, and it continues increasing every succeeding season. Thus the indigo cultivator remains the indigo planter's or rather manufacturer's debtor for ever, and also his children, grand-children, and great-grand-children, to whom he leaves this legacy of irretrievable debt. The

forcible cultivation of indigo is the ground-work of the system we are describing. The records of the Foujdary Adawluts of Rajshahye, Kishnaghur, Jessore, and Pubna will conclusively show this to be the fact. For the special edification of those who deny that indigo is forcibly sown, we publish the following correspondence, the case disclosed in it being one of frequent occurrence :—

No. 17.

To

W. DAMPIER, ESQUIRE,

Superintendent of Police, L. P.

Camp Lahore, 14th February, 1852.

SIR,

HAVING received private information of an intended affray between the people of Mr. J. C. Abbott and those of Monmohun Sandial at Nulbatta, within the limits of Thannah Nattore, I proceeded to the spot yesterday, and found the former had just forcibly sown indigo on the lands in that and other villages belonging to the latter zemindar. I observed several fields previously cultivated with ammun, chena, and khasarees by the ryots had been hastily and lightly ploughed up and sown with indigo seeds. I saw that two houses had been burnt down, and was told that they had been set fire to by the dewan of the Shampore Factory. There had been a large and tumultuous assemblage of Mr. Abbott's people. Making every allowance for the looseness and exaggeration with which numerical statements are made by the villagers, there could not have been less than 500 men. All the ploughmen, peons, tagidgeers, amcens, and gomash-tas of the Shampore, Nundkoojah, Beaghaut, and other factories, headed by a Mr. J. Vailliant, Mr. Abbott's assistant, and armed with lattees, swords, spears, and pikes had collected at Nulbatta at night, and having drawn the whole village—men, women, and children—from home, commenced, under the cloak of darkness, destroying the paddy and other produce of their fields and sowing indigo. While they were thus employed, one of the jemadars of this thannah stationed at a neighbouring village was attracted to the spot by the noise : he was, however, abused, and so severely beaten, that he was carried back to his place in a state of insensibility. They continued sowing field

after field till morning, when about (80) eighty of them were apprehended by my police with their weapons. I have the satisfaction to report also that Mr. Vaillicnt and Kistolall Bagchee, who appear to have taken the lead in this outrage, have both surrendered themselves, and have been admitted on bail.

2nd.—From the local enquiries instituted by me, and the evidence of the villagers for several miles around, it appears to have been a case of gross oppression. That the armed and tumultuous assemblage of the factory people should not have been attended with any disastrous results, was not their fault, but was owing to the timidity or forbearance of the ryots oppressed. If these had attempted to resist the forcible cultivation of indigo in their jotes, loss of life and limb would have been the inevitable consequence.

3rd.—Mr. Vaillicnt, though he calls himself a Frenchman, is, I believe, an East Indian, or a Pondicherry Frenchman. But even if he were an European Frenchman, he would, as a foreigner, be equally amenable to the Mofussil Criminal Courts with the natives. The charge brought home against him and other parties implicated in this case as principals are forcing the cultivation of indigo for the Shampore Factory on the lands of villages owned by Monmohun Sandial, illegal assembling of armed men, oppressing the ryots, and assaulting and resisting the police jemadar in the execution of his duty. The evidence against them in regard to arson does not appear to me to be conclusive. Under these circumstances, I conceive that the case, though fortunately unattended by severe wounding or other aggravating circumstances, yet is sufficiently serious to warrant its commitment to the Sessions Court. I am at least not altogether satisfied as to my competence to dispose of it finally, and shall be therefore much obliged by your kindly favouring me with your advice whether it would be proper and expedient for me to commit or punish. My investigation is completed and the case is nearly ready, and conceiving that the ends of justice would be best promoted by its prompt and speedy decision, I have taken the liberty to make this reference to you direct, in order to avoid all unnecessary delay.

4th.—In conclusion, I have the honour to report that I have stationed two police jemadars at the spot, and have instituted a case under Act IV. of 1840, in regard to the lands in dispute between Mr. Abbott and Monmohun Sandial, in order to determine and settle the question of possession.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) KISSORY CHAND MITTRA,
Deputy Magistrate.

No. 345.

To

BABOO KISSORY CHAND MITTRA,
*Deputy Magistrate, Nattore,
Camp Dehree, on the Grand Trunk Road,
Dated the 22nd February, 1852.*

SIR,

IN reply to your letter, No. 17 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to acquaint you, that as the riot therein reported, although most unjustifiable and oppressive, was not attended with any serious consequences, and the evidence as to the arson is not conclusive against the parties, you had, I think, better dispose of the case yourself.

2nd.—You should sentence the principals to the highest punishment within your competency to award, and pass orders on the minor agents according to their share in the offence.

3rd.—Mr. Vailliant is subject to the local jurisdiction.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) W. DAMPIER,
Supdt. of Police, L. P.

The parties were convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months, with labour, commutable to a fine, and to pay a fine of Rupees 200 each, in default to be imprisoned for an additional period.

When a ryot is reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty by reason of suffering such heavy losses from his connection with the concern, and is altogether out of means to continue the culture of this vegetable dye, he is made to work as a cooly in the factory. In this capacity he is compelled to work off the fictitious arrears.

Just as the season for sowing indigo comes on, the planter's ameens go about the fields and point out to the ryots for indigo cultivation such lands as they find well prepared. These lands, intended for the culture of rice and other profitable crops, are converted into neel khets ; the ryots are forced to sow indigo against their will. The ryots' troubles do not end here. During the sowing season they are not allowed to look after any other crops, however profitable, and which always fail totally or partially, in consequence of any timely attention not being paid to them. Their whole time and energies are demanded by the neel, and are absorbed in its culture. Woe to the Paramanic or Mundul or Sheikh who neglects it for other crops !

Lands sown with indigo at the close of the rains require some shade for the protection of the young plants from the scorching effects of the sun ; the unlucky cultivators are forced to sow linseed and other dry-weather crops in them for covering them up. If in the following January there is a copious fall of rain, the shade from the linseed and other plants is unfavourable to the development of the indigo crop ; and under such circumstances the ryots are compelled again to destroy those extra crops. But in the event of there being no rain in January, or little earlier, the extra crops are allowed to arrive at maturity. The produce from them is, however, as a rule, appropriated by the planter's amlahs as the *huc* of the kuttee. The ryot is not, by the planting law, entitled to the least portion of it. These extra crops, instead of being of any use to the ryot, rather serve to add in a great measure to his trouble and expense.

The planters also carry on the cultivation of indigo on their own account to a certain extent, as the neej-jotes in the indigo districts would show. The expense the planter is put to on this head is a trifle.

The workmen residing in the indigo districts are forced to supply labour to the planter's khas cultivation. The price paid for such labour is one rupee for cultivating one beegah of land, which, according to Government measurement, is nearly a beegah and-a-half. Out of this rupee, six annas is deducted by way of dustoory by the planter's amlahs, leaving ten annas only as a remuneration for the labourer, whereas three times that sum would be very moderate wages for him. The planter's extra workman is, however, more fortunate than his *dadoonee ashamee*: the more he pays for the indigo crop, the more largely he becomes indebted to the planters.

Whenever any ryot has the ill-luck to incur the saheb's displeasure, he is oppressed most terribly; his house is often burnt, and his property looted by the factory lattiyals. The Mofussil Courts, constituted as they are, do not always afford any protection to the helpless peasants against such outrages, and are often converted into instruments for oppression. Does he refuse to receive advances, old claims against him are raked up from the khata books. Does he refuse to sow his paddy khets with indigo old balances are conjured up against him?

The indigo planters somehow manage to become talookdars and izar-dars, as without such territorial influence, they cannot carry on their planting business as successfully as they could wish. This unquestionably establishes his prestige, and enables him to lord it in the Mofussil. It places the destinies of the agricultural population completely at their disposal. Suffice it to say, that a large portion of what the ryots earn is appropriated by their planting lords, leaving to them a very small portion of their income only to enable them to sustain life. In fact, their condition is in point of fact even worse than that of the American slaves.

The khoodkhast and other ryots who do not follow the agricultural profession—the kamars and the koomars—the mistries and the moodies—the mahajuns and the manufacturers—are not exempted from the taxes levied by the neel-kotee. Some way or other they are compelled to pay a certain portion of their income to their planting landlord and his greedy

amlahs. Persons daring to object to such payment must make up their minds to a residence in the planter's godowns.

Lattialism is an important element of the indigo system, and is a normal institution in the indigo districts.

Lattials ranging from two to three hundred are engaged almost in every factory with the view of enabling the planter to enforce his hookum. These lattials are not kept all in one place, but are divided into several small bands, and are located in different out-factories within the jurisdiction of the Concern. When any village gives any cause of dissatisfaction to the planter, it is given up to the lattials; they are despatched from different stations to the scene of operation; they plunder the village, and maltreat the offending ryots, and then disperse themselves in different directions.

Such is the indigo system. It is fraught with grievous oppression, and as the Lieutenant-Governor says, is "full of abuses." It is, to quote the same high authority, completely "rotten," and its "rotteness consists in this, that in practice the ryot is made to act like a slave, not like a free man." Yes! it renders the position of the indigo cultivator one of unmitigated hardship, and it forces him to cultivate indigo by illegitimate coercion. It is to avoid such hardship that the ryots now refuse to receive advances or cultivate indigo. It is to escape such coercion that the most peaceful, industrious, and loyal population in all India are now almost in rebellion.—*Indian Field*, March 31, 1860.

INDIGO AND ANARCHY.

ANARCHY IN BENGAL.—They speak what is literally a truth who speak of the prevalence of anarchy in some of the districts of Bengal. It is anarchy when a few men, by the mere force of the strong arm lord it over millions, and bar them from the benefits of government. The external show of courts, policemen, and officials, is a mockery

in regions where the oppressed man cannot approach the law but by permission of his oppressor. It is anarchy there where lottalism is an institution for the maintenance of which its patrons openly contend with the legislature—where the iron will, the brave heart, and brute force will ensure their possessor complete supremacy.

And why should it be so ? These districts, the seat of this anarchy, are within eyesight of a government the strongest in Asia. The people are a race who require the least amount of government to keep their society together. It is a country of old traditions, which has known regular laws and courts of justice for nearly a century. One single tax of four millions is borne by the people themselves to the public exchequer with a punctuality not observed by the seasons. Religion reigns in the land with more than ordinary force. And yet there is anarchy in Bengal.

The phenomenon is easily explicable. No branch of the internal administration of Bengal is so inefficient as the police and penal judicature. The ordinary magistracy has always been found incapable of coping with crimes of any magnitude. Whenever a form of great crime has to be put down, a special organization becomes needed. Weak in numerical strength, the magistracy is weaker in action. The discreditable low aim which the District Magistrates propose to themselves is pursued with a total lack of energy and vigour. The District Magistrate is satisfied if his superiors do not report him worse than his predecessor. He is more than satisfied if he keeps his district in no worse order than it was when he stepped into his office. The hard task of maintaining the very existence of peace is postponed to the less exacting duty of superintending roads and ferries, and tampering with the prospects of subordinates. Wanting confidence in himself, and perhaps in his official superiors too, he dares not grapple with the larger evils, or provoke the enmity of a powerful wrong-doer. The sufferings of a black man can never be an object of anything but occasional pity to a true son of Japhet. But the white Magistrate placed over a population of black men is so habituated, to sights of suffering and oppression, that they do not excite in his breast even that fashionable little sentiment. Genuine callousness of heart

would pass for judicial impartiality, and indolence shelters itself under the guise of a constitutional respect for the law.

But the Magistrate, though the chief custodian of the peace in his own district, is after all, it may be said, a responsible officer. He is but a subordinate in a hierarchy of many grades. There is his diocesan, the Commissioner of the Division. What does he do? It is his duty to see that the Magistrate performs his duty. To that end he moves from station to station, the doing which he calls his tour of inspection. Inspect he often does, as the shelves of the fouzdaree record room and the roads of the cutcherry compound at seasons abundantly testify. Controul the Magistrate he does; or why does every darogah, mohurrir, jemadar, or burkundauz, who has been fined, suspended, or dismissed, feel that he does himself injustice until he has appealed to the Commissioner? No Commissioner of Division, however, feels it necessary to enquire into the state of the more vital matters affecting the well-being of his district. It is no business of his to goad the indolent, instruct the inexperienced, or to check the aberrations of the corrupt. With his subordinates he shares the sweet calm of a disposition not to be ruffled by sights of suffering and oppression.

The Commissioner again is but a suffragan. There is his metropolitan, the Government of Bengal. The Government of Bengal was a few years ago composed of the leisure moments of a statesman whose proper duties occupied him twelve hours a day, and of the weaknesses of a secretary who would be outcasted if he wrote a strong letter of censure of his own accord. Since the conversion of the Government of Bengal into an entity, it has indeed made itself individually felt. The first incarnate Government of Bengal was a man whose knowledge of the country was unbounded. High hopes were entertained of him. His first act raised those hopes higher than ever. He recorded his opinion in sententious terms, that everywhere the Strong oppressed the Weak. The opinion—a truism—had all the charms of a discovery when it proceeded from Mr. Halliday's mouth; for it was universally believed that the truism was soon to be converted, in a great measure at least, into a myth in the dominions of the Government

of Bengal: People expectantly waited for the remedy. That was soon proposed. It was to destroy the Strong—to leave none but the Weak. The strong proved too strong for the destroyer. It was not the idiosyncrasy of the vigorous minute-writer to take action after the publication of his minute. The Strong everywhere continued to oppress the Weak.

With one branch of the Strong family the first Government of Bengal cultivated relation which affected the condition of the Weak very materially. The first Government of Bengal was considerable in advance of the rest of mankind in his views of policy; and the development of the resources of the country was an extremely favoured object of his political sympathies. Therefore, and for another reason, namely, that the said Government was very pardonably ambitious of a British fame, he patronized with all his might the branch of the Strong family which made indigo and coal. He knew how indigo and coal were made. But he tolerated all, and discouraged every attempt of every body that interfered with the production of indigo and coal.

Mr. Halliday's successor has been but a few months in the office. That he has already grown so popular is as much due to the fact of his being Mr. Halliday's successor as to the unqualified respect entertained for his character, and the boundless confidence felt in his impartiality and love of justice. This last is an advantage which will stand him in good stead whenever his acts offend a class or injure a pampered interest. He has already taken the first step towards the restoration of law and order in the seats of anarchy. There is no doubt that it will not be the last. But we doubt whether even Mr. Grant will be able to cow his subordinates to co-operate with him in the great task. They are not accustomed to believe that anarchy needs to be removed, whilst the "station" is safe and the revenues are paid in. They have no idea that the anarchy can be removed, or any good will come out of anything being substituted for it. They object to the novelty and the troublesomeness of the task sought to be imposed upon them. Some of quicker instincts see political danger in the entire suppression of anarchy in the land. Others believe that the development of the resources will cease. All will vote Mr. Grant a bore.

The question has become a serious one. The ryots, if they have not learnt that Mr. Grant has forbidden the cultivation of indigo, have learnt that Mr. Halliday is no longer Governor. Mr. Tottenham's magistracy of a few weeks has given them the idea that justice is not always unattainable. A spirit, such as we never in our weakest moments anticipated, has made its appearance in the indigo-growing districts. The poor fellows may in the end succumb. But between the date and this there will occur a series of social collisions which will simply disgrace established authority. We supplicate our rulers to ward off these occurrences.—*Hindoo Patriot, February 4, 1860.*

THE silly affectation of incredulity with which some parties receive our statements of disorder and lawlessness in the interior of Bengal might have been safely despised if it did not afford protection to a set of powerful wrong-doers from the chastening operation of social opinion. Whenever some act of flagrant oppression or daring outrage is related, a chorus of voices sing out, in a tone of indignant scepticism—"Can it be?" "Ought it to be believed?" Society feels it due to itself to conceal the existence of evils which in the long run are not less injurious to it than to the pariahs who are the immediate sufferers. The delicate nerves of virtuous men are shocked to be told of atrocities with the details of which they are as well acquainted as the victimized themselves. Conventionally, it is a thorough and strict understanding that the eye shall not see nor the ears hear what the hand doeth. This sort of conventionalism, we admit, has its uses when applied to certain affairs of life. It will scarcely benefit anybody if the *Times* regularly reported every tittle of evidence given in at trials for divorces, or devoted three leaders a week to the discussion of their features. Some evils are best repressed by being ignored. It is condemned in books of a certain character, that they corrupt public morals by familiarising the public mind with the details of horror and indecency. Such books are enticing reading in spite of their dangerous character. The immediate pleasure is preferred to the shunning of the distant and intangible evil. But the evil to which we are endeavouring to draw attention is altogether of a different kind. The

light of public opinion cannot shine on it without blanching it. There is no temperament so morbid that will be reconciled to absolute lawlessness for the pleasure of witnessing outrages. The conduct of those, therefore, who knowing what is now passing in the interior of Bengal seek to suppress all mention of it, cannot be too strongly condemned.

There is scarcely one of the daily journals in Calcutta which would publish such a letter as the Revd. Mr. Bomwetsch has addressed to the *Indian Field*, which is contained in last week's issue of that paper. Yet how necessary is it to the very existence of society that such things as Mr. Bomwetsch relates should be exposed, thoroughly exposed ! To us whose painful task it has been for the last five months to hear the stories of hundreds of ryots, refugees, and suppliants for justice, from the Nuddea district, the letter conveys nothing new. But the majority of our readers will obtain some definite idea of the sort of anarchy which prevails in that part of the country when they learn from Mr. Bomwetsch that :

“ Some hundreds of lattials and spearmen are at this moment assembled to loot the villages of Pathorghata, Gobindopore, and Maliaputta or Chandrabash, because the ryots still refuse to take advances, or to enter into contract with the planter, lest they should have him say they had not kept the contract. Many villages petitioned the Magistrate again, implored the Commissioner over and over again, humbly beseeched even the Governor himself, to grant them protection from the persecutions of the planters ; but instead of obtaining any remedy, have afresh been mercilessly delivered into the hands of their oppressors. Since the above was written, I have received a letter from Kishnaghur, the civil station, informing me that ryots had come into the station, having their whole substance, plough, &c., packed on carts, “ to seek for protection,” and remained near the cutcherry for days without any redress. How they have left these quarters, and what has been done on their behalf, is not known. The ryots are more than ever impressed with the idea that the confederacy between Planters and Magistrates (both Covenanted and Uncovenanted) was an inseparable one.”

Another witness, Mr. Lincke, of Bullubhpore, says :

"The people in the threatened villages are sore afraid, and those who can have their wives, children, and cattle sent away to other places. Those persons who remain cannot get out of their villages for fear of being caught and carried off. To several of them it has happened so. Several of the villages have given in, and I believe only two or three in this neighbourhood are still holding out, and these are the villages which are threatened with being looted. I wonder how it will end. I am afraid all will return to *as it was before*. Nothing good for the people will result."

Mr. Bomwetsch continues—

"Two lads of 18 and 19 years, pupils of our Training Institution, were expressly sent to my tent in order to tell me what they had seen and heard themselves, as they have only just now returned from their vacation, which they spent at Bullubhpore. They say those quarters look quite warlike. The contemplated loot had not yet taken place, because the planter's lattials were sore afraid of the villagers, who were determined to give them fierce battle. They had divided themselves into at least six different companies. One company consists merely of bows-men. Another of slingsmen, like David of old. Another company consists of brick-wallas, for which purpose they have even, as I hear, collected the scattered bricks about my old compound. Another company consists of bale-wallas. Their business is merely to send the hard, unripe bale-fruit at the heads of the planter's lattials. Again, another division consists of thal-wallas, who fling their brass rice-plates in a horizontal way at the enemy, which does great execution. Again, another division consists of rôla-wallas, who receive the enemy with whole and broken well-burned earthen pots. The Bengal women do at times great execution with this weapon. One afternoon the planter's lattials fled in confusion, when they saw the Solo women march out thus armed. Again, another division have to play the latty. And the fiercest division is the company of judhisteer, as they call it, who are the so-called shorki-wallas or spearmen. This company consists only of twelve men

but considering that at one time one good marksman, who had the spears reached to him by others, chased one hundred lattials, their number, though numerically small, is still formidable. And these are the men that the lattials fear most, and, frightened by them, they have not yet ventured on an attack."

And this sort of anarchy has been reigning for weeks together, without, as it would seem, the slightest effort on the part of the authorities to suppress it. Perhaps it is as well that the authorities should not stir, but leave the villagers to fight in defence of their lives and homes. For, it is just possible that the interference of the authorities, if directed at all, would be directed against the ryots, who may be taken up for rioting and committing breaches of the peace—a way of doing business not uncommon with Magistrates in indigo districts. It is, however, simply disgraceful to all who have it in charge to protect the peace, that the state of things described by Mr. Bomwetsch should continue so long. In no other part of the civilized world would it be tolerated that villages should remain besieged by hired bravos, for days and weeks, while the Magistrate is quietly sitting, hearing reports and punishing police officers for neglecting forms and furnishing insufficient supplies.

Has the Government nothing to propose in order to put down this state of things, but affray bills and disarming acts? Are the existing laws so wholly insufficient to meet the evil as to justify the inaction which fosters it? Has the experiment been tried of using these laws with ordinary vigour, and has it failed? Let the enquiry be at once made, and a blot on the administration, admitted to be disgraceful, be forthwith removed.—*Hindu Patriot, February 11, 1860.*

THE MAGISTRACY.—The numerical weakness of the magistracy in Bengal has often been adduced in palliation of the grave shortcomings of that most responsible body of officials. They are, it is said, too few and far between. But is that a valid and sufficient plea? We believe not. For with the strong prestige, organisation, and machinery of the British Government, nothing is easier than to keep the peace of a district, if the

authority entrusted with the business will only do it properly. Nor is it fair to charge the deficiency to the incapacity or corruption of the lower agents. The hands, though the immediate instruments of action, are still subservient to the head that wills and directs. Yea more. In the language of the proverb, he who knows the game of cowries will be able to play it even if the cowries be bad. It is nothing but idle to lay the fault on the weakness of the Police force, when a Magistrate is not successful in keeping his district in order. A thousand times numerically stronger force will scarcely benefit the country if the magisterial duties are performed in that slovenly and inefficient manner in which the planting districts have for the last few years been ruled. The defect does not lie in the canker with which the Police is said to be affected, as with the Magistrate who cannot doctor it effectually. The Police is in every respect under the complete controul of the Magistrate, and it only requires a little exertion on the part of the latter to make it as efficient as even the most sanguine might wish. But as the tail follows the body, so will the Police suit itself to the inclination and tendencies of its chief. The thing is after all evident that if a Magistrate wishes that his subordinates should be useful to the public, nothing can be easier than for him to make them so. Police officers are as regardful of their own interests as any other class of officers, and there will scarcely be wanting on their part an inclination to act honestly and energetically when they find that nothing less will satisfy their superiors and better their prospects. But they are at the same time shrewd enough to understand the disposition or, as it is more aptly expressed in the vernacular by the word *mijaz*, of the controlling Saheb, and will accordingly not fail to put themselves in the posture the Saheb would have them assume. If the Saheb loves ease, the darogah will hardly put himself to any trouble for the public weal. If the Saheb be indolent, his subordinates will seek their ease, and such among them as are disposed to it, will stir to make a little money if they can find means to do it. We think no efficient Magistrate ever complained of the insufficiency and want of sharpness in the instruments with which he had to work. Very few Magistrates have ever failed to bring to a successful issue any serious case, or to fully carry out any desired end in which they really took an interest.

We have stated above that numerical weakness in efficiency is not the cause of the Bengal Moffussil Police. It is susceptible of improvement and liable to disorganization accordingly as a strong or a weak arm wields its management. The stoutest robber will pause before he goes to break through a wall or appropriate another's goods when he knows that the police is infallible and will in the end trace him out. But the moment the contrary becomes his conviction, that is, when he sees that he is dealing with either a worthless or, in some cases, a friendly body of policemen, there will be no limit to his daring or his exploits. So is also the case with zemindars and planters. If there is a relentless and impartial Magistrate watching the concerns of the zillah, who is neither accessible to flattery nor to be thwarted in his purpose by threats, who favours no party, and dispenses justice evenly and with sternness, where is the man who will dare to raise his hand to oppress the weak or fight out a dangah with his equals? Under such a police chief there can be nothing but peace in the district. There is observable in the ordinary conduct of our Magistrates a disinclination, arising from what we can call by no other name but fear, to act vigorously when powerful disturbers of the peace have to be dealt with. It sometimes happens that requisitions are made to the commandant of a militia regiment for a detachment of that force, or, as is more generally done, a large body of police burkundazes, jemadars, and darogahs are collected in one place to prevent a breach of the peace and to scare away hands of armed men—lattials and shurke-wallahs—entertained by landholders for the purpose of the dangah. All this might show energy, promptitude, and circumspection on the part of a Magistrate; but in truth, to one accustomed to view these things in their proper light, such proceedings indicate in the official nothing but nervousness and a want of a reliance on his own skill and power. The disordered state of a district is a clear manifestation that it has not been properly ruled; that crimes have been allowed to escape their punishment; and that, from receiving one little indulgence after another the wrong doers have felt themselves so secure of impunity that very naturally they are tempted to bid laws and authority at open defiance. Thus arises the evil which has now become so glaring and intolerable. The consequence in such cases is that a Magistrate at the eleventh hour, when it is too late to retract concessions, and when he finds that his reputation is at

stake, fumbles about and tries to make the most out of his available means. But it might then be too late. The preparations on both the antagonistic sides perhaps are on a grand scale, much money has already been spent, the parties are all but ready to clash against each other, and the game they are about to play out is for a heavy stake. In vain the Magistrate issues perwannahs by scores to his dependent police to apprehend and send in to him the armed men ; in vain he threatens them with dismissal from the service should the fight be allowed to be fought ; in vain he calls upon the interested parties to bind themselves in heavy recognisances to keep the peace. The thing stares him in the face. The police report one morning suddenly announces to him that, although the thannah men had tried their best to dissuade the fighters, and had explained to them the consequences they were tempting, and notwithstanding also the attempts which had been made to apprehend some of them, no heed was taken, and a serious breach of the peace had occurred with fatal results, namely, five killed, seventeen wounded seriously, twenty houses looted, four houses burned, and two munduls kidnapped and carried away on the backs of two elephants. The blood rushes up in the face of the Sahib, and the first vent of anger is directed towards the poor police. " Worthless fellows these," says the Magistrate, " not to be able to prevent these dangahs. Tell them they are suspended from office and ordered to appear before me with explanations." In such circumstances the Magistrate finds it his duty to make a report to the Commissioner. It is then generally regretted that the police should not be stronger to grapple successfully with such occurrences, and the true cause of the occurrence, instead of being sought in defective administration is always explained away as having taken place owing to the corruption, want of vigilance, and weakness of the police. The symptoms of approaching disturbance are not hidden from the knowledge of the Magistrate. Both the police and the parties themselves give sufficient warning from the very first: the one by means of their daily reports, and the other by petitions, incriminatory and recriminatory, against each other. If the authorities do not choose to attend to them in proper time and take proper means to remove the cause of disaffection, they in a manner themselves foster the growth of the evil element ; and then when the fire of discord bursts into a flame,

when the little spring accumulates to a sudden torrent, when the gentle breeze is transformed into a tornado, then is blamed all but he who had let slip the opportunity which existed of blowing out the fire when it was but a spark, of shutting up the orifice through which the spring issued, and of putting the vessel in a condition fit to weather the storm when there was time for it. For all desirable purposes, in a peaceful country like this, we are deliberately of opinion that the existing police force is quite sufficient, although in some rare cases it might not be able to prevent a serious dangah brought about by circumstances with which they hardly deem prudent to interfere. But even this inability to cope with dangahs, when the parties concerned having beforehand calculated the responsibility of their actions, are determined to incur it like madmen rushing on certain self-immolation, is not peculiar to the Bengal police alone. In better governed countries, having better organized police forces, riots are as unavoidable. Notwithstanding special acts of the Legislature empowering the police to resort to extreme measures (which unfortunately is not the case here) mobs in Great Britain, when roused, still prove themselves above the power of the defenders of peace, and commit rows much in the same manner as the lattials of Nuddea and the shurkewallahs of Jessore fight a dangah.—*Hindoo Patriot*, February 18, 1860.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

No. 1.

MR. COCKBURN'S CASE.

PERHAPS one of the strongest proofs of the truth of the charges of lawless violence and oppression that we have so often been compelled to urge against the Indigo Planters, and of the complete impunity with which they can, under the existing laws for the trial of Europeans, commit the most heinous offences, is to be found in the case of Government and Jaubec Bewa, *versus* Majun Ali Khan and others, decided in the Court of Nizamut Adawlut on the 16th September. We say it is one of the strongest proofs that could

be obtained, not because the case is one atom worse than similar cases which day by day occur in every district in Eastern Bengal in which indigo cultivation is carried on; but simply because by chance the case has come before the district Courts, and the usual defensive weapons of forgery, perjury, and corruption have in this instance not been altogether successful in defeating justice.

The defendants in this case—the servants of a planter—were charged with being concerned in an attack and robbery of a village, in which one of the unfortunate villagers was murdered. The facts of the case are thus fully given in the decision of the Judge :

“The case is one of those agrarian outrages not unhappily very uncommon in the district, but in this instance deplorable alike from its apparent origin and from the fatal result.

“It appears that Mr. Wm. Cockburn was proprietor of the Challa Conceru, Thannah Shahzadpore, in the sub-division of Serajgunge.

“Not far from the factory of Challa is the village of Gabgachee, owned by several proprietors, Mr. Cockburn holding in farm the share of one of them.

“Mr. Cockburn, it seems, required for the purposes of his indigo cultivation the ploughs of the Gabgachee people, and as they were unwilling to give that accommodation, endeavoured to take it by force. The Assistant in charge of Serajgunge, who committed the prisoners for trial, has quite inaccurately observed, that it was sought only to make the villagers work out the advances they had received, but it appears quite conclusive, not only from the evidence of the witnesses, but especially from the confessions of some of the prisoners, (Mohobutoolah *alias* Mufta, and Baluck,) that the Gabgachee people were not under advances, and that, consequently, there was no semblance of right to compel the use of their ploughs.

“The facts which the evidence appears to establish are these : That on the forenoon of Wednesday, the 23rd March last, as several of the

Gabgachee people were at work ploughing their fields to the south of the village, a considerable body of men, 100 or more, were seen approaching, armed, from the direction of the factory ; some four or five of these men came up to within a little distance, and asked the villagers whether they would give the use of their ploughs or not. They said they would not, some of them adding that they had already supplied them with ploughs on several occasions without receiving payment, and were then engaged in their own cultivation.

“The men (sirdars) then replied they would have to give the ploughs, whether they liked it or not ; and, it is said, then went to report the result to their employer, who was at a little distance (about 250 yards off) on horse-back. The witnesses go on to say that Mr. Cockburn, being apparently excited by the refusal, used abusive language towards the villagers, and after ordering his men to plunder the place and “mar” the people, rode off towards his factory.

“This may be the proper place to observe that the Assistant Magistrate, who went in person to the spot, considers it certain that Cockburn was not upon the ground : first, upon certain discrepancies in the evidence (which he has not specified), and second, because from actual inspection he was unable to discover in the locality indicated any horsehoof prints ; and I think it my duty to remark that, in the first place, in default of actual evidence to the point, it does not appear why horse’s hoof marks should have been observable on the ground after 24 hours had elapsed in the latter end of March ; and in the next place, if there is any one point on which the evidence for the prosecution seems to agree more than upon another, it is as to the fact of Mr. Cockburn having ridden to within a short distance (two or three hundred yards) of the village lands, received the report of his messengers, and then, after showing signs of anger, and giving certain orders to his men there assembled, having gone away to his factory in which the affray began. To this point I shall have occasion to recur presently, but I must say that, if the statements of the witnesses on this head should be deemed utterly without foundation, as they have been considered by the Assistant Magistrate, it will be impossible to place reliance on any part of their

story, and the prisoners will, in my judgment, be entitled to an acquittal.

“Immediately on receiving these directions, the sirdars previously assembled began to shout *Kalee ! Kalee !* and made towards the village. The Gabgachee men most of them ran off, some of them first loosing their oxen from the ploughs, and some leaving them as they were.

“A few, amongst whom were Momin, *Ketabdee*, and *Sadoollah Fakeer*, offered some sort of opposition, by standing and protesting against the attack. The Assistant Magistrate conceives that the villagers threw clods at the assailants, and it is not impossible that they may have armed themselves for resistance, but there is no evidence of the fact, and at all events it is certain that none of the lattials were hurt, while on the other hand, the three men last mentioned were all wounded by means of surkis or light spears, *Ketabdee* and *Sadoollah* slightly, one in the fleshy part of his thigh, the other in the palm of his hand ; but the third, Momin, received in the first place a wound in the abdomen, which was fatal. He turned and fled a short distance, his course being marked with blood, but was overtaken, and received another wound in the back close to the shoulder-blade, which brought him down, and then lattials coming up inflicted a third and then other wounds ; the rest escaped.

“After this some plunder seems to have taken place, though the evidence is not satisfactory as to this ; but undoubtedly the most part of the cattle of the village, upwards of one hundred head, were driven off to the factory, whence they, or part of them, were taken to the Thannah pound of Shahzadpore under one or more challans said to bear Mr. Cockburn’s signature, and were afterwards claimed and recovered by their owners.

“When the aggressors returned the villagers came back, and some of them went to the assistance of Momin, who was found by his cousin Jeetoo Sheikh (witness No. 15) nearly prostrate upon his face and knees, evidently dying. He was taken up and carried to his house,

where, after some inarticulate or barely articulate attempts at speaking, and after taking a little water, he almost immediately died.

"It is stated by Jeetoo, also by the prosecutrix, widow of the deceased, and by his mother *Chundra Bewa* (witness No. 36), that with his dying breath Momin declared that he had received his mortal injuries from *Bagakhan* and *Lalkhan* (prisoners Nos. 1 and 2 at the command of Cockburn) ; but I find it impossible to place any reliance on this statement.

"The friends of the deceased then prepared to carry his remains to Serajgunge, and after an altercation with two burkundazes, who sought to make them proceed by a road which lay through the factory lands (with the purpose, as they conceived, of getting the body into Mr. Cockburn's power), they carried their point, and reached Serajgunge that evening. The information reached Mr. Harvey, the Joint Magistrate, and the body was subjected to medical examination, the result of which is detailed in the evidence of Luchmunger, the Native Doctor (witness No. 32), and leaves no doubt of the manner in which the deceased came by his death.

"There are some observations which I think it my duty to make, and in which I trust the superior Court will concur. One of these relates to the insufficiency of the Joint Magistrate's proceedings as to the proprietor of the factory. In a case so very serious as the present, in which the direct evidence was so strong against that person, where, moreover, the Assistant Magistrate has himself recorded that the factory had collected men for the attack, and also that Mr. Cockburn had sent the plundered cattle to Shahzadpore, thus indisputably connecting him with the offence both before and after the fact, regard being had to the whole circumstances of the case, it does appear to me that further proceedings in regard to Mr. Cockburn were called for, and that the fact or the degree of his guilt should have been made matter for the decision of a jury. It seems to me that a total failure of justice in such a case as this reflects seriously upon the administration of the district, and that it will be hard to make native zemindars responsible for any crimes com-

mitted by their dependants, if in the case of an English planter seriously compromised in a matter of this description no steps whatever are taken to bring the offender to trial.

"The next point to which I must advert is the conduct of the two police burkundazes on this occasion, and to the manner in which the Assistant Magistrate has dealt with it. * I have already on more than one occasion stated my strong objection to the system of Mudud burkundazes, that is to say, inferior policemen sent down ostensibly to watch the proceeding of specified persons; but who are usually domesticated with the persons whom they are supposed to watch, and naturally end by neither preventing a disturbance, nor affording the least assistance, when it takes place, either to the parties assaulted or to their superiors in the subsequent investigation.

"This is precisely what has happened in the present case. Two burkundazes, deputed, as Mr. Harvey proclaims, to prevent breaches of the peace, allow a force of laltials to be assembled before their faces, accompany them as amateurs throughout their day's proceedings, and finally, it would seem, do their best to prevent the case from coming in its actual and proper shape before the Magistrate.

"The Assistant must have come to one of two conclusions regarding these men : either that they were helpless and blameless, which, indeed, he seems to say, but in that case they should have been made witnesses in the case, and ought to have given most important and unimpeachable testimony ; or else they must be considered as accomplices in the crime, and at any rate grossly failing in the performance of their duties: but then they ought to have been put upon their trial, and either committed to the Sessions, or summarily dealt with under his general powers by the Assistant with powers of Joint Magistrate.

"Neither of these things has been done. The burkundazes have had their statement or " Istifsar " taken, and there, as far as they are concerned, the case has rested.

"It is evident that Mr. Harvey has not been wanting in activity, and I know he is not deficient in shrewdness, but the inquiry has not in these points been closely and judiciously followed up. It may not be matter of surprise that a young officer should fail in these qualities (I mean judgment and decision), but certainly his shortcomings ought to be made up by the vigilance and determination of his superior in charge of the district. It seems too much the case even in difficult cases, and in respect of the most inexperienced officers, to give way to a feeling of *laissez faire*, and to abstain from all interference with the proceedings of subordinates. This is a misfortune to the public and also unfair upon the young officer, as either his faults and omissions are not corrected, or perhaps, when committal has taken place, they are roughly handled by superior officers who must consider that in theory all officers exercising the judicial powers of a Magistrate are alike.

"Upon this subject the Court may perhaps think it worth while to direct a communication to be made to the Commissioner of the Division, or even to Government."

The same old story. The disgraceful proceedings here reported might be taken as stereotyped form of every indigo-planting row for the last thirty years. In fact, these cases are so common, and the particulars so precisely of the same nature, that in these days of printing in public offices and general economy, we are surprised that the Court of Nizamut Adawlut do not issue printed forms of report merely to be filled up by the Judge with the names of the parties and the number of the victims. It would, however, be necessary, in the event of our recommendation being adopted, to leave a space for the decision of the Judge, for, as we have often had to point out, it is not every Judge who would write his opinion in the fearless, straightforward manner that Mr. Lewis Jackson has done. Five years of Hallidayism have taught Judges and Magistrates, that if they value their appointments, they must pocket their consciences in all cases in which Indigo Planters, Police Commissioners, or other Europeans with political influence and power of combination, are concerned. The cases of Mr. Kemp, the late Judge of Malda; of Roy Kissory Chand Mittra, the late Magistrate of Calcutta;

of Baboo Gopaul Lall Mittra, the late Deputy Magistrate of Nattore ; and of Moulvee Abdool Agaiz, the late Deputy Magistrate of Seraj-gungo, are melancholy illustrations of the unfettered operation of such Hallidayism.

But to return to this case. We have, first of all, an Indigo Planter, a broken-down Deputy Magistrate, who buys a factory and turns his mind to the "development of the resources of the country" in the *usual manner*. Now, before indigo can be sown, it is necessary to plough the land, and people in England will probably suppose that some of that vast amount of capital, which Colonization Committee witnesses say is brought into this country by the planters, would be invested in ploughs and cattle ; but this is not the way our sturdy Anglo-Saxons farm. It is all very well for farmer Hobbs and farmer Stubbs, in Norfolk or Suffolk, to keep ploughs and horses : they are obliged to do so ; they do not, like our men, enjoy special rights as representatives of a conquering nation, but are subject to the laws of the land, which our planters are not. In Bengal it is a generally received notion, which has been confirmed by that eminent lawyer, Mr. Theobald, that all persons who can claim to have half a drop of European blood, or even blood and water, in their veins, have an abstract right of preying upon their weaker, though possibly not darker, neighbours. Hence ploughs and cattle are needless expenses. The uninitiated may ask how then a planter ploughs his lands ? The simple reply to which is, that a planter has no lands, for that would be another unnecessary expense. By a legal fiction he is supposed to give advances to his tenants for the cultivation of a certain amount of indigo, and by the same fiction it is assumed that, having given these advances, the planter has nothing whatever to do with the crop until the happy peasant brings it joyously into the factory, his hackery crowned with boughs, like the harvest carts at home, and then and there receives from his beaming and benevolent landlord a bag full of bright rupees in payment for the same. Such is the fiction, but we have often shown how very different is the actual fact. We have shown that a man sends out Up-country ruffians to seize his tenantry, and that they are then locked up in a godown and starved until they sign their names to a bond acknowledging their liability for an advance made to

their ancestors of the fourth generation ; and this bond, signed by the ryot, represents, in planting *parlance*, an advance and contract to sow, on the strength of which the planter sends out, as Mr. Cockburn sent at Gabgachee, and seizes all the poor ryots' ploughs, stops their own cultivation, and having made them plough up one another's lands and sow therein his indigo, he considers that he has been merely " seeing that his ryots fulfil their contracts." In this case, *as usual*, the wretched ryots summon up courage to complain to the Magistrate of the threatening attitude taken up by Mr. Cockburn, and the Magistrate, as usual, afraid of getting into a row with his immediate superior, who is probably more theoretical than practical, and has a horror of being written against by the planters in the papers, or being himself on excellent pigsticking terms with the planter, contents himself with giving an order to send out two police peons to keep the peace between about 500 hired and trained ruffians on one side, and 5,000 wretched villagers on the other !!! the same two peons being supposed to be ubiquitously employed in keeping the peace in some 70 or 80 villages. The peons know that this order means nothing at all ; they therefore take into consideration how they can best dispose of their services, and they naturally determine that the planter and the Magistrate, being bosom friends, and the planter being likely to come best out of the fray, the peace can be more advantageously kept by lending the planter a hand than by interfering with him, and attempting to protect the ryots. They turn well over in their minds the probability of the planter going in to dine with the Magistrate sahib, and talking over the case with him while discussing a social glass of after-dinner Bass ; and like some of their betters in the highest ranks of the service, they determine to be on the right side whatever turns up ; they therefore, as shown by Mr. Jackson, " allow a force of lattials to be assembled before their faces, accompany them as amateurs throughout the day's proceedings, and, finally, it would seem, do their best to prevent the case from coming in its actual and proper shape before the Magistrate." And if they are the men we take them for, they took very good care to secure from the planter a certificate, stating how active they had been in endeavouring to keep the peace and keep down the aggressions of the turbulent-ryots. We should have thought that, paying what the country does for police corps, some more effectual force than a couple of peons on Rs. 4 a

month might have been detached to keep the peace : but it seems that these corps are only for show and not for use, and it is probable that, even if they had been detached under Mr. Harvey, they would have employed in shooting down the villagers instead of Cockburn and his ruffians.

The point in this case, however, with which we have more particularly to deal, is the impunity with which this man Cockburn is allowed to commit this heinous crime. The men whom he hired are transported, but he is not even put on his defence, and is probably at this moment the honoured guest of the district officials at some *shikar* party.

The judge says that, "if there is any one point on which the evidence for the prosecution seems to agree more than upon another, it is to the fact of Mr. Cockburn having ridden to within a short distance (two or three hundred yards) of the village lands, received the report of his messengers, and then, after showing signs of anger, and giving certain orders to his men there assembled, having gone away to his factory, in which the affray commenced. Immediately on receiving *these directions* the sirdars, previously assembled, began calling *Kalee! Kalee!* and made towards the village."

Now the Nizamut Judge chooses to disbelieve this evidence, because, forsooth, Mr. Harvey did not find any horse's footmarks on the plain!! In the first place, what proof have we of the extent to which the search was made by Mr. Harvey? In the next place, why should he find horse's footmarks in the month of March with the ground as hard as a rock? And, thirdly, what was to prevent Mr. Cockburn having them covered over with earth, supposing them even to have existed? It surely would not be the first time that Mr. Samuells had heard of such a precaution being taken after an affray. As the Judge says, if this part of the evidence is to be disbelieved, then should all be disbelieved. "Oh!" says Mr. Samuells, "but Mr. Harvey says the other part of the story is all true;" so then Mr. Samuells did not try the case on the evidence, but on the report of a Magistrate, who, on the face of the thing, is either very inefficient or very prejudiced.

The attack was not made on a narrow road or lane in which the people could accurately point out the exact spot whence the attacking party had approached. It was on a vast plain ; the spectators were at a distance, and we think it very possible that fifty horsemen might have been on the plain without the Magistrate being able, two days after, to find a trace of one of them. But it seems to us that after all it is a matter of trifling importance whether Mr. Cockburn was on the spot or not. What possible motive had any of the attacking party, except to serve Cockburn? *They* had no quarrel with the villagers. The ploughs were not for *them*, but for Cockburn. The ryots gave notice to the Magistrate that Cockburn was going to attack them, thereby showing that there was a feud with him. It is in evidence, which Mr. Samuells believes, that these people were assembled and started from the factory in which Cockburn was. It is in evidence that the plundered cattle were brought to Cockburn, and challaned by him to the thannah as stray cattle ; but because his horse's foot marks could not be found, he escapes scot-free, and the name of *justice* is made to stink in the nostrils of the people. According to the decision in this case, a man may hire a band of assassins, and in the face of the whole world despatch them to murder an enemy ; the assassins alone are to be held guilty ; the hirer of them is to remain an honoured member of society. We will simply ask, what would have been the case if Ramrutton Roy or Joykishen Mookerjea, Motee Baboo or Abdool Gunny, had been in the place of Cockburn? Would Mr. Harvey have ventured to write such trash about horse's foot-marks? If he had done so, would his Commissioner, from his quiet retreat in a comfortable hill station hundreds of miles away from his work, have given him no directions to bring the principal to justice? Would the Judge not have returned the calendar and directed proceedings to be taken against the principal? Would Mr. Samuells so highly have approved of his proceedings? No, most assuredly not ; he would have been recommended to Government for transfer to a sudder station as incompetent and unfit for his duties. But Mr. Cockburn is a European, and this very much alters the case, for Europeans have abstract rights to head affrays attended with murder ; and in virtue of Magna Charta no one has a right to say they shall not.

We shall wait to see what steps Government will take to prevent the recurrence of such a gross scandal, and we trust that orders will be given that no case of any sort in which an European is implicated is to be disposed of before the opinion of the Advocate General is taken. That Cockburn would under any circumstances have received his deserts we doubt. A Calcutta Jury would of course have acquitted the deceased, being "only a nigger," but our Mofussil Police would at all events have escaped great opprobrium; and the people are used of late to injustice in the Supreme Court, and would not have expected any thing else.

Since writing the above we find that, on the 9th November, the Court of Nizamut were engaged in hearing another case of affray with murder, arising from indigo disputes in Pubna. In this case a naib of the notorious M. Kenny, of Saloogurmodia, the orator at the Town Hall Anti-Black Act Meeting, who, the Judge says, "there is reason to believe had made himself obnoxious to the people of Panti and some adjoining villages, by some of the petty tyranny practised constantly by men of his class," was said to have been carried off by the villagers and rescued by his friends: during the rescue a villager was killed. There are very suspicious circumstances connected with the case. The prisoners were released.—*Indian Field*, November 19, 1859.

THE fraud and violence which are the inseparable concomitants of the system of indigo planting in Lower Bengal, have attained their highest point of impunity in the district of Rajshahye, through the power, influence, wealth, and audacity of the present body of planters. That district was, before the advent of these developers of its resources, one of the happiest in the country. The ownership of the land was in the hands of a number of families, who believed and felt that there were other pleasures to be derived from the possession of landed property than that of receiving from it so much per cent. higher than Government securities yielded. The head of the local aristocracy was a family of considerably old lineage and high birth, distinguished by traditions which made it hold a high place in the esti-

mation of the Bangallee nation. Its influence was exercised beneficially over the whole district. The soil, fertile in the extreme, yielded abundance to the ryot population who cultivated it. Water communications afforded unusual facilities for the export of superfluous produce. The tenantry were contented, and they were hardly at all affected by the vices which are taught in the vicinity of the metropolis. But from the moment indigo planting was introduced, the face of affairs began to change. The planters, destitute of rights in the land, yet unable to prosecute their calling so profitably as they wished, unless they possessed the coercive powers and influence incident to the position of a Bengal landholder, sought opportunities to acquire landed rights: with their small capital they could not hope to buy up zemindaries. They, therefore, resorted to the usual plan of taking farms of shares in zemindaries, and so annoying the possessors of the remaining shares as to compel them to surrender their portions. Thus it was that by a course of violence and fraud, unequalled in the history of any civilized nation, the greater portion of a district larger than Yorkshire passed into the hands of a few indigo planters who set all law and government at defiance.

The latest instance of violence committed by a Rajshahye planter is reported in the *Englishman* of the 11th instant. Mr. W. Cockburn, of the Challah Concern in the sub-division of Serajgunge, had possessed himself of a share of the village Gabgachee in the usual manner. He wanted the ploughs and labour of the Gabgachee ryots, who wanted then, as might reasonably be supposed, to cultivate their own lands. In anticipation of a fight two Police burkundazes had been posted to watch the factory people. They, as usual, were bought up by the planter. Mr. Cockburn rode down one fine morning to the village fields with more than a hundred clubmen and spearmen. The villagers were found ploughing their fields. They were required to give up their ploughs, which they refused to do. Mr. Cockburn got angry, and ordered his men to use force, and then rode away to his factory. The men advanced, killed one of the villagers, wounded two of them, plundered some houses, and went away with about a hundred head of cattle. The man mortally wounded had but breath to articulate the names of his mur-

derers. When his remains were being carried to Serajgunge, the Police burkundazes, who had been appointed to prevent a breach of the peace, tried to have the body carried by way of the factory, so as to enable Mr. Cockburn to make away with it.

These are the bare outlines of a case, atrocious indeed, but not uncommon in its kind, specially in the district of Rajshaye. The chief criminal, as a matter of course, escaped, Mr. Cockburn not being suspected even by the Assistant Magistrate in charge of the sub-division of any complicity in the affair. One of the spearmen who was proved to have committed the murder has been sentenced to transportation for life, and two others to imprisonment with labour for fourteen years each. The Sessions Judge was of opinion that a case had been made out for sending Mr. Cockburn before a jury, but the Sudder Judge who passed final orders was of opinion that the Assistant Magistrate had acted rightly in not having committed him. This is the old story over again. Not years ago a precisely similar case, though somewhat more serious in its consequence—several lives having been lost and a whole village plundered—was similarly dealt with by the Rajshahye authorities. Some of the latials were punished, but the factor was not even questioned on the matter. Factory dinners, like parbunnie gifts to amlah, are profitable investments.

The question is, how long will such a state of things be suffered to continue? When outrages of this gross description may be committed with impunity, what security can there be for life or property? The planter loses nothing even by the expense of defending the wretches who are his tools in these affairs; for, as he gains his prime object of intimidating his neighbouring villagers, his pecuniary interests are benefited to an extent much greater than they are injured by the costs of a criminal suit. As for the hired ruffians, they know they are born to end their days on the gallows or in jail. To them, it matters only how soon or late they are brought to either. If ever outraged justice cried aloud for the protection of the law, it is in the case of these planting outrages.—*Hindoo Patriot, November 19, 1859.*

No. 6124.

FROM

E. H. LUSHINGTON, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

TO

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE NUDDEA DIVISION.

Fort William, the 23rd October.

SIR,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Reid's letter No. 49, dated the 9th ultimo, submitting the Report called for in orders No. 15, of the 15th August last, on the five petitions presented to the Lieutenant-Governor when at Kishnaghur by certain inhabitants of the Haudea, Maherpore, and Hauskhally Thannahs, complaining of the oppressions practised upon them by Mr. White of the Bansbarriah Indigo Factory.

2. The Report shows that Mr. White, in the several cases referred to in petitions Nos. 1 and 2, was charged with having plundered the houses of the petitioners to a considerable amount of property, cut down their trees, deprived them of their lakhiraj title deeds, and caused the lands in the vicinity of their houses to be dug up, so as to prevent their obtaining ingress thereto, and that the cases were all dismissed by the Magistrate as not proved, although in three of them, *viz.*, in the plunder of property complained of by Umbica Churn Biswas, and in two others, the Deputy Magistrate, Baboo Dwarkanath Dey, to whom the cases were made over, recommended that certain of the offenders should be fined and imprisoned, and required to make good the value of the plundered property.

3. The second case noticed by Mr. Reid is that in which the petitioners charge Mr. White with having plundered their houses and cattle, and object to the order of Mr. Howell, the Deputy Magistrate, referring the case to arbitration. The Officiating Commissioner remarks, that the case was clearly not one for arbitration, and the Deputy Magistrate was wrong in having resorted to that method of adjusting it. It is understood that this case, which was instituted so far back as the 6th

June, is still undisposed of, and that Mr. Reid has given instructions for its being brought to a speedy termination.

4. The case next adverted to is that of Okhill Chunder Biswas, who (as represented by the petitioner himself) was seized when near Mr. White's factory collecting some debts which were due to him, and after being dragged to the factory by Mr. White's men, was flogged by Mr. White himself. The petitioner has then described how he was conveyed as a prisoner from factory to factory for a space of one month, when he escaped; the cause of all this oppression being that he had formerly been a servant of the factory, and that having been dismissed from employ, he refused to take advances from Mr. White for sowing Indigo. The Officiating Commissioner remarks on the delay on the part of Mr. Howell in the disposal of this case, which was commenced on the 30th May, and was still pending at the end of August, on his neglect to examine the complainant's person when he first appeared before him to charge Mr. White with the assault and false imprisonment, and on his endeavour to persuade the plaintiff to compromise the case.

5. The trial of the other case of oppression, in which Seetul Turufdar was carried off by Mr. White's men, has resulted in the conviction of six of the factory people, though the individual who had been seized is not yet forthcoming.

6. The Officiating Commissioner reports that he has instructed the present Officiating Magistrate to re-call to his own file such of the cases of the petitioners as may still remain undisposed of, as well as, for the present, any others in which Mr. White and the servants of the Bansbarriah Factory may be parties, and to institute the strictest enquiry as to what has become of the missing man, Seetul Turufdar.

7. The Lieutenant-Governor directs me to inform you that he agrees with Mr Reid in his remarks on the proceedings of Mr. Cockerell, the Magistrate, and Mr. Howell, the Deputy Magistrate, in the case of these disputes, and approves of Mr. Reid's orders in the matter; but I am at the same time desired to observe that the Lieutenant-Governor has de-

rived an unfavourable impression of the manner in which the people have been protected by the Magisterial authorities of Nuddea from oppression such as has beyond doubt been exercised in the cases brought to notice.

8. The Lieutenant-Governor heard in a general way, when on his tour at Nuddea, of complaints from natives that in indigo cases they do not get real protection. And this string of unsatisfactorily investigated and hastily dismissed cases now reported upon makes it impossible for him to feel certainly convinced that every thing can be legitimately done, as has been usually done in that district, to repress abuses of this class. The Lieutenant-Governor does not impute partiality to any of the officers concerned, but he cannot escape the impression that more active and intelligent measures would have had more satisfactory results, whereby all parties should have been made to feel that these disputes must not be settled by the strong hand.

9. The Lieutenant-Governor is surprised that Mr. Cockerell, in his report to the Officiating Commissioner, has omitted all mention of the charge of wrongful imprisonment for a month brought against Mr. White, which as yet stands untreated.

10. These cases, which are known to be of daily occurrence, in which ryots are kidnapped and imprisoned, and carried from place to place by zemindars and planters, with impunity, are a disgraceful blot upon the district administration in Bengal ; and it is the duty of every Magisterial Officer to strain every nerve to bring them home to the offenders, where they can obtain a clue to them. On the present occasion there was the person wronged before Mr. Howell, whose evidence, if credited, would prove the case. Instead of doing all that could be done to ascertain the truth, and acting, it must be presumed, in the belief that the charge was true, the Deputy Magistrate recommended a compromise, as though the case had been a trifling squabble or a nominal assault, instead of a charge of one of the grossest acts of oppression and cruelty that can be imagined, short of injury to life or limb.

11. Mr. Cockerell must be called upon to explain his silence in this most grave matter. A Magistrate should not allow himself to be kept by a subordinate in ignorance of such a case having been disclosed ; and if Mr. Cockerell was informed of it, his conduct would appear to be quite inexplicable.

12. So much blame appears also to be attached to Mr. Howell in these proceedings, that the Lieutenant-Governor must call upon him for his defence, in order to take into consideration what orders should be passed on him personally.

13. On receiving Mr. Howell's explanation you will be so good as to forward it with an expression of your opinion as to whether Mr. Howell is yet sufficiently qualified to exercise the special powers of an Assistant to a Magistrate, with which he has lately been vested.

14. In conclusion, I am desired to request that you will insist on the remaining cases against Mr. White being thoroughly sifted, and that you will call upon the present Officiating Magistrate to dispose of them himself, with all the consideration which cases involving such charges may appear to require.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) ED. H. LUSHINGTON,

Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal.

No. 2.

MR. WHITE'S CASE.

THE complaint so bitterly urged by Mr. Mackinlay before Mr. Wilson of the body he represented being systematically maligned by journals in the interest of the native community is best answered by documents like the one we publish in another column. It is not the *Hindoo Patriot* or the *Indian Field*, or any newspaper edited or owned

by natives, that makes and proves the charge against one of the most notorious of the Nuddea planters. It is the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal himself, a man the very personification of impartiality, who condemns the planter, and avows his conviction that outrages like those committed by him are common in the indigo-growing districts. It is the Commissioner of the Division who, sitting judicially on the cases, reports their heinous nature. It is the Magistrate, through whose neglect and supineness much of the oppression remains unpunished and the chief oppressor goes wholly unpunished, that bears testimony to the guilt of the offenders. It is his executive assistant, a European of the class who, according to Mr. Mackinlay, are the fittest representatives of Englishmen every where in the world, a participator to a certain extent in the guilt he sought to screen, who admits the offence. No malignant native or native journal passed the censure, or tried to see justice overtake the audacious breaker of laws.

These things, if they are calculated to inflame the native mind against the non-official class of the European community, are no less calculated to make the people dissatisfied with the existing order of administration. A system that permits a needy adventurer to set himself up in a position from which, with impunity, he burns and plunders villages, makes away with the persons of obnoxious men, imprisons and flogs them, and levies contributions on all around, cannot be tolerated by a people who in their days of greatest oppressedness never wanted the means of swift and effectual revenge. The law which places the European above itself at the same time deprives the native of his means of self-defence. If the law but ceased to operate for a single day in the Nuddea district, justice would exact all her dues in that one single day. The local ministers of the law have grossly failed in their duty. It is no wonder that the local population to a man charge them with the worst motives for the course of conduct they have been pursuing. An entire change in the *personnel* of the administration, extending to a pretty high grade in the official hierarchy, can alone open the way to redress for past wrongs and security for existing rights.

* There was a time when the native could hold his own against the most audacious and rapacious of European adventurers in India. It was

when these latter were responsible to a central despotism beneficent in its rule, and endowed with large sympathies. It was when the local administration was weak enough to leave the natural elements of order fairly to operate, and yet strong enough to despise factious attacks. It was when officials felt it their duty to serve the country without looking to the newspapers for reward, and had not learnt to fear the "proceedings of the Indigo Planters' Association." A wholly different order of things now prevails. With the planter, the good will of the Magistrate, or the belief in its existence, is as necessary to the successful carrying on of the factory work as is the farm of the surrounding land. With the Magistrate or his Assistant, the jolliness of the planter and the accommodations he affords have as many attractions as there are terrors in Mr. Theobald's reports. To ascertain the extent of this intimacy, the Lieutenant-Governor need only call for a return of the number of police darogahs and other subordinate officials dismissed, say within the last five years, for coming in collision with planters or their assistants.

We shall wait to see the result of the action so vigourously and so judiciously commenced by the Government of Bengal. Should it eventually appear that the planting interest is not to be coerced into order by that authority—and we confess we do not look very sanguinely for a decided or beneficial result—it will then be for our countrymen to think whether appeal should not be made to a stronger power.—*Hindoo Patriot*, December 10, 1859.

DOUBTS, real or affected, having been expressed as to the correctness of our statements regarding the outrages committed in the indigo districts, we have endeavoured to procure judicial evidence on the subject. This, we believe, is the orthodox way of proving the thing, though the notoriety of the matters to which we have given publicity is one, we should have thought, which ought to have relieved us from what we cannot help thinking an unjustly improved obligation. We subjoin decisions on one of these cases. The following is the

judgment of the Magistrate of Nuddea on a complaint of some ryots of Govindpore :—

“The subject of this case is the attack made upon the village of Govindpore by a large body of lattials and spearsmen, with the plunder of houses of the six complainants, and the forcible abduction of the witnesses Nos. 10 and 11, the expedition having been organized by Mr. William White of Bansbarriah Factory, and led in person by some of the head servants of that establishment. The depositions are too numerous and lengthy for me to analyze them all here, but I will proceed to give a brief, yet, as far as possible, a comprehensive narrative of the case. Early on the morning of Tuesday, the 29th of Bhadro (13th of September) last, a band of club and spearsmen, in number estimated at about 100 or 150, suddenly came upon the village of Govindpore. Accompanying them and acting as their immediate leaders were two persons on horses ; the one was Bishtoo Ghose, Jemadar of the Bansbarriah Factory, and the other Hurry Chowdhry, Mohurrir of the factory at Hauskhally, (close to Govindpore,) also belonging to Mr. White. The force, was also accompanied by two elephants, on which were mounted, according to the complainants, Ramcoomar Biswas, Ramchund Rai, and Obhoye Ghose, all of them amlah of the Bansbarriah Factory, besides several other persons unknown. The identity of the parties on the elephants, I may here mention, is not positively established by the evidence. They did not enter the village, but halted their elephants by some mango trees, at a little distance to the north-west of it, from which direction the band had approached. The above-mentioned Bishtoo Ghose and Hurry Chowdhry, however, led the spear and clubmen into the village, and immediately directed them to pillage it. Accordingly, the nearest houses were plundered in the manner described by the six complainants and numerous witnesses. But by the time the plunderers had proceeded thus far in their work, the whole of the villagers had turned out *en masse*, and were preparing to offer a vigorous opposition to their further progress. The assailants hereupon retreated—indeed, were literally driven out of the village. One of their number, Kubbeer Sheikh, getting separated from the rest, was surrounded by the villagers, knocked down with a lattee, and captured. In their retreat the lattials seized

and carried off two of the villagers, named Koobeer and Oozeer, whom they caught in a sugar-cane plantation a little way outside the village. They then went off in a N. W. direction towards Bansbarriah. In the mean time the alarm had been given to the Hauskhally Thannah, which is about half a mile from the Govindpore village. The Darogah and Naib Darogah were both absent on duty in the Mofussil. Some Burkundauzes immediately came in to the village, and the captured spearman, Kubbeer Sheikh, was given into their custody and conveyed to the Thannah. He had received a severe wound in the head from the lattee with which he had been knocked down.

"The Darogah and Naib Darogah of Hauskhally being absent from the Thannah, the Moonsiff of that place, Mr. Hutchinson, immediately, and very properly, reported the occurrence to me by a letter, which reached me in the course of the day. I immediately deputed the Kutwallce Darogah to make full investigation of the case on the spot, and this duty could not have been entrusted to a more able and energetic officer. When he arrived at the village, he found the Hauskhally Darogah already there, he having lost no time in proceeding thither after receiving intelligence of the affray. The prisoner, Kubbeer Sheikh, made a full confession, revealing all he knew of the affray. This he repeated before me on his arrival in the station, on the morning of the 15th of September. An important part of his narrative is, that on the evening preceding the affair, the band was mustered in the Bansbarriah Factory, and personally inspected by Mr. William White.

"On the 16th of September, I myself visited Govindpore, and satisfied myself that this outrage had actually been perpetrated. My visit was quite unannounced and unexpected, so that I was able to put full confidence in the evidence presented to my own eye-sight. The tracks of two elephants were plainly visible in the place indicated by the villagers, as that where they had been halted during the plunder. I also observed the marks of horse-hoofs. There was also to be remarked a regular path of trampled-down paddy, as if a number of men had recently passed over it. The plundered houses bore evident marks of having been looted.

"The facts of the case, as I have stated them, are clearly and abundantly proved by the evidence. Mr. William White was himself present in court during the examination, and cross-examined each witness as fully as he desired, and I cannot but say that in no important point was the testimony of any witness shaken. Against many of the defendants arrested by the police, the evidence before me was insufficient for conviction, but the three defendants, Shadoo Churn Ghose, Kylash Ghose, and Thakoor Sheikh, are proved to have taken a very active part in the plunder. Their defence is an *alibi*, by which they attempt to show that at the time of the occurrence they were in attendance in this Court on bail. The fact of their being on bail is quite compatible with that of their having taken part in the attack on Govindpore. I convict them of the charge, and sentence them to suffer imprisonment each for six months, with labor commutable in each case to a fine of 20 Rs. if paid within ten days. I convict Kubbeer on his own confession as well as the evidence, and sentence him to the same punishment.

"With regard to Mr. William White, the whole circumstances of the case point to him directly as the instigator of the outrage. The actual presence of his factory servants has been clearly shown. The witnesses Nos. 10 and 11 distinctly prove that after their capture they were taken as prisoners to Bansbarriah and there brought into Mr. William White's presence, who gave orders concerning them. The confession of Kubbeer Sheikh implicates him directly. He, in his defence tendered through a Mooktear, denies all knowledge of the affair, but he calls no evidence in support of it. I find it impossible to come to any other conclusion than that he was the instigator and organizer of the outrage, for which he has been called upon to answer. I cannot deal with him as with the other defendants,—I therefore sentence him to pay a fine of 300 Rupees."

L. R. TOTTENHAM,
Magistrate.

The judgment of the Zillah Judge, before whom the case was carried by appeal, is thus worded :

"There is an abundance of direct evidence showing the three first appellants to have taken an active part in the offence with which they

are charged, and in addition to the direct evidence against the other appellant, Mr. White, the whole circumstances of the case most clearly show that the outrage was committed with his knowledge and by his orders. There is not the slightest ground for any interference with the sentence passed. The appeals are accordingly dismissed."

A. LITTLEDALE,
Session Judge.

One plea remains to be urged by the apologists of the indigo system. Mr. White might be disowned as one of the "black sheep." We shall see.—*Hindoo Patriot*, January 21, 1860.

No. 3.

MR. MEARES'S CASE.

THE KIDNAPPING QUESTION.—There is scarcely a man, woman, or child in Bengal who will not endorse to the full the assertion of the Bengal Government, that cases of kidnapping by zemindars and indigo planters are of daily occurrence. The Secretary to the Indigo Planters' Association may feel it a duty to "report" that the fact is otherwise; but as he limited his enquiries to a few neighbours of Mr. White, who are constituents of his society, the nation probably will decline to alter its convictions on his "report." Kidnapping is now the approved process by which ends that were formerly secured by the *hufum*, and in more recent days by the *punjum*, are now sought to be attained. And a more effectual process it is than either of the two we have mentioned. Short, sharp, severe, unflinching, it has supplanted methods of proceeding comparatively tedious and not always successful. The case of Seetul Turufdar, mentioned in the Government letter we published three weeks ago, furnishes an illustration. Seetul Turufdar was kidnapped near the Hauskhally Factory of Mr. White, which is under the superintendence of Mr. Hampton. He was first taken to that factory, severely wounded. And here we would correct a slight error in our former statement. He was

not taken from Hauskally to the Bidjeelee Factory. From Hauskally, Seetul Turufdar was carried to the Bansbarriah Factory of Mr. White, and thence to Sonatollah and other factories belonging to the same gentleman ; and lastly, when secrecy in that part of the country became impossible, he was dragged to the Sindoorree Factory in Zillah Jessore, whose manager, Mr. George Meares, is well-known all around as the "terrible planter," and who, we believe, is a near relative of Mr. Hampton. Mr. Hampton must know of Seetul Turufdar's death, which, beyond the shadow of a doubt, took place at Sindoorree.

The fact of the missing man's death while he was in the private custody of Mr. White's friends and diabolical agents at the Sindoorree Factory is supported by evidence internal and circumstantial ; and positive direct evidence will, we believe, be procurable. But so secret was the fact kept of the unfortunate man's death while at Sindoorree, such is the terror inspired by Mr. Meares's name in all the places subject to his influence, that it will require more than ordinary courage and tact on the part of the authorities to bring those who were the cause of his death to immediate justice. The Commissioner, Mr. Reid, and the Magistrate, Mr. Drummond, will not, if we may be allowed to form an opinion from their antecedents, want nerve to face the peculiar difficulties of this case ; and if they depute trustworthy Darogahs to investigate it, truth will surely come to light. The eyes of the whole population of the district are now rivetted on this case, and it becomes the paramount duty of the authorities to dispose of it in a becoming manner.

The fate of Seetul Turufdar is a specimen of a class of occurrences which without much expenditure of rhetoric may be said to have become extremely frequent. It is indeed a terrible fate ; and those who taunt the ryots of Bengal with cowardice and inertness under injury sustained may do well to conceive the danger to which he exposes himself by resisting oppression,—a danger from which he is very ineffectually protected by the law. No amount of individual caution will avail against it—no machinery exists to exact adequate atonement for the suffering inflicted. To be struck down on the high way, bound and carried across long fields and jungles to the secure godowns of the factory or the cutcherry, and to

be there subjected to torture and starvation until compliance with the most unjust demands is yielded, are matters which the ryot may be excused for thinking very seriously of. . Occasionally, the atrocity of the act is heightened by the plunder of the houses and the dishonouring of their female inmates. If ever an evil was to be repressed, it is the prevalence of the kidnapping system.—*Hindoo Patriot, December 31, 1859.*

THE KIDNAPPED.—When, in the postscript to our notice of the great case of *Mr. G. Meares versus The Publisher of the Hindoo Patriot* we enquired where the nephew of Ramrutton Mullick of Joyrampore then was, we scarcely expected to receive so soon so satisfactory a reply. It is true that our respondent is a no higher authority than a Darogah of Police, but there are things which commend themselves to the sagacious and impartial as truthful from their internal marks. The following is a true translation of a report made by the Darogah of Thannah Harradee to the Magistrate of Zillah Nuddea :—

“In obedience to the order passed on the back of the accompanying petition, Madhub and Bhoobun Mullicks of Joyrampore, in the jurisdiction of Thannah Damorhoodah, came to the Thannah at about 10 in the evening of day before yesterday, and said that Mr. G. Meares had kept Tarunchunder Mookerjea in confinement in the Sindoorce Factory within the jurisdiction of Thannah Kaloopole in Zillah Jessore, and would remove him on an elephant the next morning, when, if not liberated, it would be difficult to effect his rescue afterwards. I started immediately on horseback, with Rajib, Kader, and Bhurrit Sing, Burkundauzes, and picked up on the way two chowkeedars from Awludengee and six from Belgatchee. I arrived near Sindoorce towards dawn, but not finding Madhub and Bhoobun there, went to the Kaloopole Thannah for aid. The Darogah had gone into the Mofussil. I sent word to him and posted men on the roads. At about 11 in the morning, the abovenamed Tarunchunder Mookerjea, accompanied by Mr. Meares's writer, Kadernauth, came on an elephant to the Kaloopole Thannah, and there before me stated to the Mohurrit, “I was not a prisoner, and Mr. Meares has sent me to the Thannah to tell you so.”

On my questioning Tarunchunder Mookerjea, he said, that he was a prisoner, but that Mr. Meares having promised to do him benefits, he came to the Thannah and deposed that he had not been a prisoner. "I am come to say so." I brought him away to his home at Joyrampore, and having reached the Thannah to-day, submit his statement. Mr. Meares's influence in that part of the country is such, that even the Thannah people dare not disobey his commands. It is surprising that a person kept in confinement should come to the Thannah to say that he was not in confinement, and this person dared not say anything else. What moreover, &c.

(Signed) BYDNAUTH MOOKERJEA,
Darogah, Thannah Harradee.

No. 4.

MR. MACARTHUR'S CASE.

"ABSTRACT RIGHTS" OF THE PLANTERS.—The name of MacArthur is not altogether unknown in connection with *The Indian Field*. All will recollect how, when we had occasion to comment upon some of the disgraceful oppressions of the indigo system, a testy old gentleman of that name came forward and proposed to gag this journal, and stated that all our disclosures regarding the vile tyranny habitually practised by the Blue Fraternity were the grossest libels and falsehoods that a diseased and prejudiced mind could invent. If we recollect aright, either he, or some of the small deer who joined his cry, denounced us as traitors and rebels, for merely hinting that it was possible that a free-born Briton could be guilty of locking up his ryots in a godown for weeks together, because they would not sow indigo. The *Dacca News* declared that it was outrageous to suppose that a planter would have recourse to perjury, or that he ever got up false cases. The planter, it was stated, was always a victim; he was constantly liable to have false charges brought against him, but his high sense of honour compelled him to prefer ruin rather than have recourse himself to similar weapons. And the great losses that the indigo planters were subjected

to on account of their superfluity of honourable feeling was actually made the ground of an application to the Legislature to pass an Act, investing the planters with special facilities for obtaining the property of others without payment.

We have now an opportunity of bringing forward another member of the distinguished clan of MacArthur to meet the denials of the fiery little chief of the clan. Our Mr. MacArthur is not altogether a willing witness; but this being so, his evidence is all the more trustworthy, so far as it goes. It appears that, on the 23rd of February, a petition was presented to the Magistrate of Jessore, mentioning amongst other things that *Bolai Sheikh and others* had been confined by Mr. MacArthur of Meergunge, in his factory, for about nineteen days. This being the normal state of the Jessore ryots the Magistrate does not appear to have adopted any very extraordinary measures for their release; he, however, sent the petition to Mr. Bainbridge, the Joint Magistrate of the Gopalgunge sub-division, on the 16th April. It so happened that Mr. Bainbridge was going to dine with Mr. MacArthur on the 16th, and be-thought himself of combining pleasure and business; and whilst on his way to dinner at Meergunge, a boy came up to him and offered to point out the godown in which the prisoners were. On arriving at the godown door, the Joint Magistrate, like a second Blondel, attracted the attention of the captives, and having satisfied himself that they were really in confinement, as asserted, he sent for Mr. MacArthur and ordered him to produce his keys, and released the unfortunate *Bolai and three other prisoners*. They were sent off to Mr. Bainbridge's camp, and Bolai then stated, that he had long been in confinement, because, having been ruined by being compelled to sow indigo, he had at length been forced to leave his land and crops and abscond. The others were confined, because they would not acknowledge Mr. MacArthur to be the proprietor of an estate which had been purchased by a native zamindar, and which apparently Mr. MacArthur coveted.

Bolai Sheikh deposed to the Magistrate that, when taking his cows down to the river to drink, some of the factory servants seized him and beat him till he became senseless; that on recovering his senses, he was

carried to the Noakholla Factory, where he was taken before Mr. MacArthur of Borjella, who directed him to be taken under a guard to Meergunge : his zemindar, Bisheshur Chucklanuvees, came to Mr. MacArthur and offered to stand bail for his appearance, when wanted. Mr. MacArthur, however, refusing this proposal, took him in his own boat as far as the factory of Borjella, from whence he was escorted under a guard to Churnundeea. On his arrival there, the factory dewan ordered him to be locked up in a godown, and he was accordingly locked up in a room with another prisoner with irons on his legs ; after ten days' confinement he was sent to Meergunge, and was then chained and locked up with five or six others. He concludes in the following words :—" I was released by the Joint Magistrate after a confinement of two months ; formerly I was a resident of Doljoree, but now I am a ryot of the Chucklanuvees. I had an advance from the Churnundeea Factory, but I escaped last year and ran away after sowing the indigo crop. I do not owe the factory any rent."

The old story—a ryot is compelled to sow indigo, and when he can no longer stand the oppression and extortion, which is apparently part of the necessary process of manufacture, he runs away, leaving his home, crops, and everything he possesses. The factory servants are sent out to apprehend him, and he is thrown into an outlaw jail for three months.

Another of these unfortunate victims, Muneeroodeen, says that, in the month of Aghrun, his brother, Tumeczoodeen, was carried away by the order of the gomashta of Luckheepassa Factory, on his way to the market, and was released after paying to the factory the rent of the land, which had *lately been purchased by Baboo Ram Rutton Roy*. On his brother's return, Muneeroodeen went to the Meergunge Factory to close his accounts, but was put in confinement for twenty days, on a pretence that there was a balance of Rs. 13 in favour of the factory. Poornoo Chunder Bhuttacharjea paid the demand for him and effected his release. On the zemindar's gomashtas coming to the village, they were driven by the factory servants, and the man Muneeroodeen was seized and carried off to the Luckheepassa Factory, and confined for one month ; subsequently he was carried off to the Noakholla Factory and ordered to

file a false petition in the Magistrate's Court, stating that his own landlord, Ram Rutton Roy, had assembled 125 luteals for the purpose of breaking the peace. This man was then, according to the account he gave to the Magistrate, sent to Meergunge and confined in irons, and was subsequently released by the Joint Magistrate. He states that the cause of his confinement was the fear that he would enter the service of the zemindar who had just purchased the estate, and by giving him valuable information regarding the estate benefit him : as the baboo was an opponent of the factory, this was not to be allowed.

Fuqeer Mahomed deposed to having been confined eight or nine days at Meergunge, and one month at Luckheepassa. He says that he and another prisoner were *starved for three days, until they consented to present a false petition to the Magistrate.*

Mr. Bainbridge, the Joint Magistrate, who released these men, deposes as follows :—" I was riding to the Meergunge Factory on the 16th March, when a boy came and offered to show me where Bolai, of whose detention I had before received verbal complaints, was confined, in Meergunge Factory. He took me to the godown and called ' Bolai ' through the loopholes, when he was immediately answered by a voice which said that the speaker and others were confined there. I demanded the keys from the factory people who presented themselves ; as no one brought them, I sent my salaam to Mr. MacArthur. On that gentleman's arrival, I told him that there appeared to be some men in confinement, and requested that he would have the key brought that I might release them ; he had it brought, and the door was opened by the chowkeedar ; upon this the said Bolai and three others came out ; as they all complained of detention unlawfully long, I placed them in charge of my syce and kidmutgar and sent them to my tent. I first heard of Bolai's confinement on receipt of the letter from Mr. Molony (the Magistrate), which is filed. On the morning of their release, Bistoo Chucklanuvces, whose quarrel with Mr. MacArthur I was in camp at Noakholla to settle, came and told me that Bolai and I think Noboo were confined by Mr. MacArthur. I distrusted him, saying, that I did not believe Noboo's case, which had been tried before, and that I not only thought the case false, but had

asked Mr. MacArthur about him, when he denied all knowledge of the matter. Bistoo answered that 'he did not think Mr. MacArthur would deny Bolai's case.' I said also that I did not know the place of confinement; but if a guide were sent, I would do what I could to release him. I went to cutcherry, and, on crossing the river afterwards, the boy above-mentioned came to me; he ran away directly after the release, at least I never saw him afterwards. As far as I remember, the letter about Bolai, &c., was read out by the peshkar of my office in my tent at Noakholla, in the presence of Mr. John MacArthur and his father and others. I do not remember any comments being made. As far as I recollect, one of the men said something about irons; they had none on and came out at once: there is no other door to the godown. I believe the boy told me that he was in the habit of taking food to Bolai. I think he told me so. Mr. MacArthur's first remark, on my asking for the key, was, 'Have you seen them?' I replied that I had heard them. When the chowkeedar came with the key, Mr. MacArthur asked 'Who have you in there?' The chowkeedar replied, 'Men for rent.' Shortly after he (MacArthur) described some facts relative to their seizure, but these he may have ascertained from his servants. Mr. MacArthur afterwards remarked that the man was a heavy defaulter, and that one had been sent from Lukheepassa market, whence he had come one day. Bolai said to me that he had been seized at Noakholla, and one or two said they had been seized at Lukheepassa. Bolai said he had been confined two months. No one said less than twenty days."

But perhaps the defence set up by Mr. MacArthur is about the most impudent part of the whole proceeding. He denies all knowledge of the confinement of these men in his own compound, and, apparently, considers himself much aggrieved by Mr. Bainbridge's releasing them: he considers it a sort of family matter, with which the police could not possibly have any concern. He says "that Mr. Bainbridge had shortly before been staying with me, and that, on his leaving my house, I invited him to dinner again on the 16th, and, accordingly, when on the 16th I heard that Mr. Bainbridge wanted me at the godown, thinking that some accident had happened to him on his way from Noakholla, where he was holding cutcherry, and that he did not like to make his appear-

ance before my wife and family in a disabled state, I hurried off to the godown to see what was the matter. I was not a little surprised at Mr. Bainbridge's demand for the key."

As the men were released by the Joint Magistrate in his presence, he of course cannot deny the illegal confinement. He therefore confines himself to a declaration, *1st*, that he knows nothing about the matter; *2nd*, that they were ryots taken *in the usual way* for a settlement of their accounts that morning, and that they were put into the godown for safe custody!!! I never saw the men in my life, and never even heard their names, and most probably should never have heard of them at all, but for Mr. Bainbridge's release, as their accounts *would have been settled in the morning in the usual way*, and they would have been released."

This is a cool confession to make before a Magistrate. It shows that it is an every day sort of affair to have men locked up in the factory godown, so much so that it was not even reported to the planter: every thing in his opinion was quite regular, having been done "in the usual manner." In this he is undoubtedly right, a planter's ryots spend a considerable portion of their existence locked up in godowns, till they settle accounts or sign contracts: there can be little doubt in whose favour the settlement is, if a ryot has to be confined in a damp godown for two months, and starved for three days, and chained before he consents to settle. But this we are assured by Mr. MacArthur is nothing out of the common, it is all "in the usual way." Well may that eminent jurist and agitator, Mr. Theobald, say, that the ryots change their freedom for a new condition" when they begin to deal with the planters. We suppose that Mr. Bainbridge is one of those "firebrands" alluded to by the Secretary of the Indigo Planters' Association, who have dared "to preach to the ryots abstract rights." We suspect that it will take a good deal of preaching of abstract rights to make the ryots forget their *abstracted* rights. Whatever Mr. Theobald may have been alluding to in his report, it is clear that Mr. MacArthur includes Mr. Bainbridge amongst "the firebrands." He considers himself an aggrieved man, and we only hope that he will send his grievance home. He says in his defence:—"I stated to Mr. Bainbridge that I thought his character as a Govern-

ment Officer would have been equally upheld by deputing his Darogah or any other subordinate Officer to make the necessary enquiries, instead of taking the matter in hand himself, the more particularly as he was acting on the simple assertion of persons whom he promiscuously met in a field on his way to my house *as a private guest*. This, coupled with his total want of jurisdiction (?), made me feel that his conduct on the occasion was *not only illegal but uncalled for*, particularly as he did not give himself the trouble to enquire whether I was acting legally or otherwise as zemindar, a circumstance which does *not seem to have occurred to him at all*." We should think not ; it is not very clear why it should have occurred to the Magistrate that any one could legally lock men up in godowns for five minutes even, much less for two months. Mr. MacArthur thinks that the Magistrate acted improperly in releasing the men at a time when he was coming to dine with him. Now to us it appears that he was not acting improperly in releasing the men, but in going to dine with the planter ; in accepting the invitation, he must have been aware that in all probability, whilst he was dining with the planter, the godown would be full of unfortunate ryots confined "in the usual way." It is this system of hob-hobbing between planters and officials at Jessore and other indigo districts, which is the cause of half the misery of the people. The Magistrate finds the planters jolly good fellows, notorious for hospitality, and shuts his ears to all the reports of skeletons in the factory closets. The consequence is, that the ryots, who see that the Magistrate is constantly at the factory where they are locked up within a few yards of him, without getting their release, learn to believe that it is useless to complain against the planters at the Courts. Mr. Bainbridge appears to have been one of these confiding young men. When he received a complaint against Mr. MacArthur, he asked that gentleman whether it was true, and because he denied it, he believed the case to be false, and made no further enquiries. He goes and stays with Mr. MacArthur and dines with him whilst all these cases are pending ; but by some good fortune stumbles into the godown. His eyes, however, are opened for the future, and he will now understand why those officials, whom he has probably considered prejudiced men, have been chary of intimacy with the non-official residents of their district. It is not often that a Jessore or Kishnagur planter gets caught, as they have the whole country in

their possession; but we trust that this case will open the eyes of some of the officials in the indigo districts, and induce them always to have a look at the godowns before sitting down to their Sunday dinner at some favourite factory. This will, at all events, give the prisoner one day's change of air in the week, if it does nothing else. Our English readers will now understand the cause of the distance that officials are accused of placing between themselves and the planters, and which has been so much complained of.

In conclusion, we would ask the Government, how much longer this system of slavery is to be continued on the score of "expediency?" The condition of the ryots in indigo districts is positively worse than that of slaves in the worst Slave State, yet Government shuts its eyes, because it is not "expedient" to interfere. Who will be made the scape-goat when the people are goaded into taking the law into their own hands? Mr. MacArthur's is no exceptional case, similar scenes are enacted daily in every factory in Bengal, except that the people dare not complain, and that when they do, a darogah is sent, the result of which deputation Mr. MacArthur evidently understands.

Mr. MacArthur, instead of being compelled to undergo a little of that confinement which he thought so good for his ryots, escaped with a paltry fine of Rs. 300, which will be paid by his ryots "in the usual manner."—*Indian Field*, July 9, 1859.

WE publish among our correspondence a letter signed INDIGOPHILUS. It is difficult to say whether it is a genuine outburst of free-born British feeling, or whether it is written ironically; the sentiments are precisely those which we know to be entertained and continually enunciated by two-thirds of the planters of Bengal, and the facts related are perfectly probable. INDIGOPHILUS's history of his mode of making his four lakhs is probably the history of nearly every planter in the country, and whether it is a real narrative or a fancy sketch, it certainly gives no exaggerated notion of the manner in which the resources of the country are developed by "the pioneers of England's

fortunes." How many of those gentlemen who abused the old Government of the Company as throwing impediments in the way of settlers began with so much as a single cowree, or without, what is worse than nothing, a heavy debt at high interest from a Calcutta broker? How many men who have began in this way have gone home with immense fortunes screwed out of the people of the country? There are at the present moment in this country men who commenced their career in the East in the ranks of the army, and who are now worth ten or twelve lakhs of rupees. Is it then to be wondered at that the rising generation of adventurers should grumble, because with the change of the times and the natural progress of civilization, the iniquitous system under which their predecessors have so long been enabled to prey with impunity upon the ignorant and helpless natives of the country should have commenced to receive a check? The Government is greatly to blame for tolerating the system so long, and for only after so many years of indifference commencing to take measures to afford relief to the ryots in the Court. The fact is that the Company found it necessary to keep on tolerable terms with these men on account of the unscrupulous manner in which they vilified the Government at home: but the Queen's Government has nothing of the sort to fear; there is no Charter to be periodically renewed, and no higher authority to do mischief with constant interference; the adventurers may agitate or falsify as they choose, they have no longer an appeal to make from the Government of the Company to the Government of the Crown; their only appeal now is from Cæsar drunk to Cæsar sober, from Conservative to Liberal and from Liberal to Conservative. The Government can afford now to treat these gentlemen as they deserve, and with the Criminal Code, which is certain of being passed in the course of a year, and with the amalgamation of the Courts, they will find that they will have to pay a little more respect to the person and property of their weaker neighbours. They will no longer be able to extort sales of lands or ten years' contracts to sow indigo by the shoe or the godown, and they will have to pay for what they want like honest people. *Ramkunt* and *Samchurn* will have to give place to law and reason, and the race of INDIGOPHILOI will have to go to the Zambesi or Feejee, if they wish to develope the resources of the world according to their present system. Even yet the planters are

permitted to enjoy the most extraordinary and unjust privileges in conducting their suits in the Mofussil Courts. A planter's simple unsupported assertion is considered in indigo districts to be indisputable evidence of the most improbable events ; we will give one out of many such instances that have lately come to our knowledge of the undue weight which is given to uncorroborated statements of interested Europeans in suits brought against them by natives. We had occasion a few weeks ago to introduce to our readers a planter of Jessore. We showed there that the Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Bainbridge, threw aside a most serious criminal charge against that gentleman, simply because he himself denied its truth. Mr. Bainbridge, however, by a fortunate stumble in the dark into a godown had ocular demonstration of the truth of the charge and the falsoness of the planter's denial. One would have thought that this would have convinced the authorities of Jessore of the value that should be attached to any statements that planters might make in future in cases in which they were concerned ; but it does not appear to have had this effect. In May last certain ryots who had been, like all the ryots of Jessore, compelled for many years to sow indigo, wishing to free themselves from such slavery, applied to the Judge of Jessore to examine their accounts summarily under Regulation V. of 1830, and take from them any balance that might be shown against them in the factory accounts, and release them from any further compulsion to sow indigo.

Now this Regulation V. of 1830 has hitherto been nearly a dead letter in Bengal ; scarcely any ryot has before dared to have recourse to it. The Jessore planters were therefore perfectly dumb-founded at this bold attempt on the part of the ryots to release themselves, their feelings were much those of a Virginian planter on the announcement of an abolition meeting on the borders of his estate : however, they fortunately rose with the occasion, and having found a construction of the Court of Dewanny Adawlut, to the effect that no such summary release could be given during the existence of a specific contract for any fixed term, the planter who was complained against went into the Judge's Court, and asserted that all these ryots had contracted to sow indigo for him from 1854 to 1864, in consideration of an advance given them in 1854 of Rs. 69

2 per beegah!! In corroboration of this statement the planter filed what is supposed to be the contract, a most extraordinary document, witnessed by a couple of factory servants, whereby a number of ryots bind themselves over for ten years to sow indigo, and give it into the factory at five bundles for the rupee, deducting the price of weeding, cutting, and conveying indigo, and stamp, &c. In the event of their working off the advance (an impossibility in the way the factory accounts are kept), they engage to take a fresh advance, and in the event of their failing to take such advance, the planter is to take forcible possession of the land, and fine the ryots Rs. 10 per beegah for the remainder of the term of ten years; if at the expiry of the lease anything is due to the factory, the ryot is to pay five times the amount due. And this impudent document was actually received by the Judge on a mere statement of the planter, unsupported by a single word of evidence, and the ryots were refused any redress or release, and, what is worse, the Judge gave an opinion that this extraordinary contract was genuine; the ryots are therefore shut out from all chance of redress if they are sued on this paper in the Moonsiff's Court. Is it to be wondered at that the ryots of Bengal are becoming desperate under such oppression? We do not blame the Judge, whose interest in the agricultural classes is notorious; his decision was perhaps correct according to law. What we object to is his ready admission of the contract against all probability simply because the planter said it was all correct: he probably meant nothing more than that there was *prima facie* ground for refusing *summary* adjudication under that particular Act; but if a simple assertion by one of the parties, that a contract exists, is to shut the opposite party out, the Act becomes a dead letter. It is not as if both parties admitted the existence of this contract, the ryots denounced it as a forgery. This refusal by the Judge, on the grounds that "the kubooleuts do not seem other than genuine," prejudices the case moreover against the ryots in the event of subsequent proceedings. It must be recollected that contracts of this sort for ten years are things entirely unheard of in Jessore. Is it probable that any ryot for an advance of 12 Rupees, or 2 Rupees per beegah, from which are to be deducted price of stamp; 3 Rupees for seed, 8 Rupees for rent; 3 Rupees for cultivation; to say nothing of the expense of cutting and bringing in the plant, and the loss of the rice crop he

would have had if he did not sow indigo, would bind himself over body and soul for ten years? Even the items we have noted show that 15 Rupees have by the factory process to be *deducted from the 12 Rupees* ; and besides all this there are the ameens, khalassees, gomashas to be paid fees *ad libitum*, and an occasional nuzzer of 1 rupee to the planter when he does the Lord Bountiful and visits his people. Now these 6 beegahs of indigo would probably average 60 bundles of indigo, which, even omitting all the cheating that takes place in measuring it, would fetch the ryots in 12 Rupees, but he has had to pay, as shown above, 15 Rupees ; he therefore binds himself over to pay the factory 3 Rupees per annum for ten years from his own pocket. Is it probable or even possible that a ryot should of his own free will make such a contract, unless indeed he was subjected to the two months of godown process which we lately had the pleasure of showing up in connection with the Meergunge Concern ?

We ask again, how long are such things to be ?—*Indian Field*, July 30, 1859.

No. 5.

THE ZEMINDAR AND THE PLANTER.—A TALE OF 1858.

Koylash Chunder Roy Mohashoy is a near relative of the Maharajah of Nuddea, and an inhabitant of a village named Digumburpore, which is within a mile towards the north-west of the Khalboaleah Indigo Factory, Thannah Dowlutgunge, Zillah Nuddea.

Fifty years ago, when Mr. George Harris first came to Bengal as an indigo planter, he could not induce any of the big zemindars to give him either a piece of land, or even to assist him in setting up his factory. The grand-father of Koylash Chunder Roy, named Shumbhoonath Roy, however, came to Mr. Harris's assistance, and gave him the farm of several of his villages, and also presented him with a piece of ground in Khalboaleah to build his factory on. This will explain the reason why the principal factory of such a rich estate as that of the Khalboaleah Concern

has been erected in such an inland and inconvenient locality, removed a considerable distance from the river side. Subsequently, Mr. George Harris, and after his death, Mr. Francis Harris, greatly enlarged their sphere of manufacture, and founded a large number of subordinate factories in the country all around. This rich concern is now the property of the Bengal Indigo Company, and is managed by a resident European superintendent whose head quarters are at Khalboaleah.

Up to a very late period the descendants of Shumbhoonath Roy were on friendly terms with the concern, and have hitherto confirmed repeatedly the lease which their grand-father had acceded to.

But the times are materially changed. The indigo planters of the present day are not of the stamp their predecessors were. The influx of a large body of their number into the Mofussil, their intelligence, and above all the position of their agents and representatives, backed in the generality of cases by the partiality of the Government officials, have made them indeed a very powerful and influential class of men. But, alas! what consequences have resulted from this accession of power? There will be no necessity of using abstract terms to describe the manner in which the body of planters are using their power, as the following narrative will best illustrate it.

For some years past, the subordinates of the Khalboaleah Concern have begun not only to treat the descendants of Shumbhoonath Roy with personal disrespect, but also to damage their property, by cutting down large trees, bamboos, &c., and appropriating these to the use of the factory without paying for them, or even asking any permission beforehand. Above all, rents were not punctually paid, and even when such payments were ordered to be made by the superintendent, the Roys never had the money to pay themselves without first paying a portion of it to the amlah of the factory. Besides the above, these landholders had to dance attendance day after day before the cutcherry door to the factory, for weeks together, like an indigo ryot, when soliciting payment of their just dues. If the landholders or their servants ventured to remonstrate against these indignities, they were subjected to the most

insulting language. On one occasion, the gomashtha of Koylash Chunder Roy, after frequenting the factory for several days, during which the payment of rent due to his master as a shareholder of Shumbhoonath Roy's estate was deferred, committed, in the eyes of the factory naib, the unbearable offence of asking the latter to name a particular day on which it would be convenient for him to pay the money, and not to give him the unnecessary trouble of coming daily to the factory from a distance, and there to wait and spend whole days, much to the injury of his other business. The naib got irritated at this, and ordered the man to be confined in the godown. There that man remained, and was released only after his master came and offered the fullest apology for the fault of his servant.

This sort of treatment was too humiliating to be long borne by a relative of the House of Nuddea, which has for centuries held the highest Position in native society. Koylash Chunder naturally got vexed with the factory people, and as the term of the ijara lease was to have gone out that year, he determined no longer to favour the concern with its renewal, and accordingly gave away his share of the parental estate to a native talookdar named Prankisshen Pal. The factory people felt themselves offended at this, and concocted plans of revenge. The new lessee had not yet taken possession, nor was there the slightest manifestation either on his part or on that of Koylash Chunder Roy to injure the manufacture of indigo of the Khalboaleah Concern. Still, however, the factory people thought it injurious to their prestige to permit Koylash Chunder Roy to go without punishment at their hands for acting against their interest. Bands of armed men were collected and posted about Degumberpore to intercept Koylash and bring him in as a prisoner. Koylash was obliged for self-defence to employ and keep in his house armed men also, and not resting upon that alone, he petitioned the Magistrate; but the European was in the latter's estimation a far more credible person than a nigger. So, instead of obtaining the necessary protection which Koylash sought at the hands of the Magistrate, he had the mortification of seeing his house twice searched by the police for armed men. Finding at last that his suit was not at all hearkened to, and also that he was scarcely able to cope with his adversary, he thought

it prudent to transfer the female inmates of his house to that of one of his relatives, and himself availing of a dark night, fled with a few followers to Kishnaghur, taking with him the most valuable of his property.

The Khalboaleah people, baffled in their attempts to secure the person of Koylash, sent without loss of time the shurkewallahs to plunder his now deserted house of whatever they might lay their hands upon therein. All that Koylash had not been able to take away with him, *viz.*, wooden furniture, bedding, wall-shades, as also copper and brass utensils, and the innumerable odds and ends which constitute the necessaries of living of a respectable native, were plundered. The more valuable portion of this plunder was delivered at the factory, while the rest was given to the armed men as their personal share of the general booty. Not content with this even, the doors, doorspots, windows, and wooden railings of the house were removed, so that nothing now remains on the premises but bare brick-walls. The floors were dug up to the depth of three feet for buried money. One would think that Koylash's house was now sufficiently despoiled, and that the work of desolation was to have ended here. But unfortunately for Koylash, it was then the rainy season, and every one is aware that the autumn of 1857 was one of the severest rainy years. Satan or some other of the infernal fraternity whispered into the factory people's ears that the rains would materially assist to bring down the roofs of the doomed house without any expense whatever, and so complete the sentence of destruction, if they would only mind to do it. The arch-fiend never spoke to more willing votaries.

Orders were immediately issued to shut up the drains on the roof of Koylash's house so as effectually to shut out the egress of the rain water—which thus accumulated to the brink of the parapets. Holes were then bored in several places of the roof, which as a matter of course gave way every where except those particular spots where it was the strongest. Koylash Chunder petitioned the Magistrate, and solicited him to proceed to the spot and see whether all that he said was true or not; but with the exception of an order to produce proofs, no other steps were taken. So Koylash Chunder saw no other alternative but to give up;

and knowing that he would hardly be safe in the interior, bought a house in Kishnaghur and there settled himself.

But a Bengalee is mad after his native village. He loves it with all his heart. His parental seat has a secret charm for him which nothing but the funeral pile can burn out from him. Poverty, pestilence, oppression, severally or collectively, are not strong enough to drive him from it nor even unbounded wealth can induce him to make another place his home; there his forefathers had their entres and exeunts in and from the stage of the world, and there he must follow them—never mind whatsoever may befall him. Twelve months of exile had wrought a change in Koylash's sentiments. He was not sorry that the factory people had treated him with disrespect, for he consoled himself with the thought that his superiors in riches and honour were hardly better treated in the present day by the lowest Europeans and their worse subordinates; he was not sorry that his goods and chattels had been plundered, for he was in good circumstances yet, and would be able to furnish himself with a new set soon or late. He was not sorry that his house was partially demolished, for that too could be repaired. He was not sorry that he had lost so much money, for like a true Hindu believer in predestination, he consoled himself with the belief that it was in his fate to suffer at this particular time a pecuniary loss. But that which alone afflicted him, and that also which neither money nor any thing else could recompense him for, was the sad thought of being debarred the happiness of living in the house of his forefathers. "I have no home now," said he to himself, and as he saw his neighbouring lodgers in Kishnaghur making preparations to go to their homes on the approaching Doorga Poojah time, tears of sorrow flushed his eye, and he wept over his sad fate. Day after day this sentiment gained strength, and at last his love for home became so imperative, that he forgot all past injuries, and determined at the sacrifice of his best interests to conciliate the factory saheb, and thereby to obtain from him his consent to be allowed to return to his home. With this object in view he sent offers of negociation, and the answer he received was, that until the concern had the undisputed ijara of his estate, which he had let to Praukishshen Pal, he could not be permitted to set his foot in Degumberpore. Koylash knew that Pran-

kisshen Pal, though a rich man, was a Hindoo, and would sympathise with his feelings, and go to any sacrifice to befriend him. His calculations were correct, for Frankisshen waived all right to the ijara and resigned it to enable Koylash to let it to the Khalboaleah Concern. Koylash thus freed from engagement with the native zemindar, leased out his estate for the space of ten years to the Bengal Indigo Company. He now solicited permission to return to Degumberpore, and the naib of the factory told him that, as the cause of the quarrel was now removed, he was at perfect liberty to go and live in his house, and assured him that no violence whatever would be done to his person. With the view of impressing Koylash with the belief that he was sincere in his protestations of friendship, the naib offered to accompany him to Khalboaleah, and there to bring about an interview with his master, for the purpose of renewing the old good feeling which existed between them.

Led by these assurances, Koylash made preparation for returning home, but did not accompany the naib. The latter, however, immediately after wrote to Koylash from Khalboaleah that he had represented the subject of his interview to his master, and that all differences had been amicably settled, he (his master) will be happy to see him in Khalboaleah. Not doubting the sincerity of this invitation, Koylash at once proceeded to Khalboaleah on the 23rd July 1858, and waited upon the naib. The naib told him that he was very glad to see him, and that he would presently go to inform his master. So saying he left him. Koylash expected every minute that he would be summoned before the saheb, but to his great surprise, after a short time the jemadar of the factory came to him and said that the sahib could not grant him an interview, and that as the concern had been put to much expense by employing armed men and the like, while the dispute lasted with him, it was the order of the saheb that he (Koylash) should pay to the concern a fine of five thousand rupees ; that on payment of the sum he would be allowed to return to his village, and that he must consider himself a prisoner in his hands until the fine was paid. So saying the jemadar marched him off to one of the factory godowns, and there kept him a close prisoner with several ryots suffering the same punishment.

Information of this was sent to the Rajah of Nuddea and several other influential native gentlemen, but they did not think it prudent to inform the Magistrate about it ; for they apprehended that the extreme partiality of Government officials would, without bringing relief to Koylash, only aggravate his hardship. The Magistrate would not either believe such a serious charge against an European, particularly of the Khalboaleah Concern (to which concern Government officials seem excessively partial,) or even in case he should take it up, he would proceed so slowly and in a slovenly way, that the factory would get ample time to remove Koylash from Khalboaleah, and send him from the factory in so short a time that the most vigilant searcher would fail to trace him out. So the Rajah sent his own gooroo, accompanied by a letter of recommendation from Mr. White, to settle with the Khalboaleah saheb. After a great deal of negociation the factory authorities were kind enough to reduce the fine from five to two thousand rupees, of which, on the immediate payment of one thousand rupees, Koylash was to be liberated, but not to be allowed to return to his house until the remaining thousand was paid. Koylash paid one thousand, and after eleven days of close confinement in an indigo godown, with scarcely any food to subsist upon, he got his release and came back to Kishnaghur.—*Hindoo Patriot*, January 7, 1860.

To the Editor of "The Indian Field."

DEAR SIR,—It is a pity that the writer in the *Patriot* has not given the sequel of Koylash Chunder's history. As I know the facts, being then in the district on a pig-sticking excursion, I shall supply the omission. Koylash Chunder subsequently took service in the police to better his means, and was appointed as a naib darogah in the Hauskhally Thannah. Before he was six weeks in the thannah, he was transferred to the Kutwally, under the immediate eye of the Magistrate. No reason was assigned, but it was rumoured that the Khalboaleah people would not suffer Koylash Chunder to remain in the Hauskhally Thannah, where they had large estates, and where they were afraid he might pay them love for love. If the business had ended here, it might have shown discretion on the part of the Magistrate.

Koylash Chunder suspected that something else than discretion had actuated the Magistrate to cause his transfer ; he seems to have been correct in his conjecture. This act of the Magistrate frightened him a good deal ; he thought that his situation in the Police was in jeopardy for being still at variance with the Khalboaleah Concern, and again he thought of making another attempt to make up matters with those people. He heard that the Manager of Khalboaleah Factory was to be a guest in Mr. John White's house at Bansbarriah ; and being in the neighbourhood on duty, we took advantage of the occasion to go up personally to that gentleman for the attainment of his object. He thought that he could well trust himself in the house of a third party, where both the laws of hospitality and of gentlemanly conduct would protect him from violent treatment. But he soon found out his mistake.

No sooner was he announced to his old friend, than that gentleman came out with a hunting-whip, and took his long pent-up revenge against the helpless native, whom he did not let off till forced to do so by his host and Mr. Furlong, who came out to know the cause of the uproar created by *their* friend.

Koylash Chunder lodged a complaint before the Magistrate, to whom he related the whole history of his case ; of which no notice was taken, except calling for an explanation from the planter of Khalboaleah, who, much to his credit, did not deny the whipping ! But the cream of the thing was, that a few days after a charge of torture was brought by the planter's people against this native official, when opportunity was taken to turn him out the service !!!

Now if this individual was guilty of the charge brought against him, why was he not committed for trial to the Sessions Court ? In a case of bribery certain facts may come to light, which, though not sufficient in law, might force a moral conviction of the guilt of the offender. In such a case the removal of an official may be both just and expedient, but I cannot understand why a similar course should be taken on a charge of torture. Acts which constitute torture must be known to more than one individual, and if a Magistrate performs his duty as

he ought to do, the offender can never escape the just punishment for his brutal conduct. The present case either implies the incapacity of the Magistrate, or the innocence of the accused.

There has been a good deal of speculation in the native community whether Koylash Chunder's case, as published in the *Patriot*, would attract the notice of the Government, and result in an order for enquiry, as it has ensured one in the case of Seetul Turufdar. Information in the latter case was taken the other day by Mr. Wauchope under an order of the Bengal Government, which it appears has directed him to conduct the enquiry. But is the Bengal Government aware of the antecedents between Mr. Wauchope and Mr. Hampton? Is the Bengal Government aware how Mr. Wauchope conducted himself with the Gossains of Bullaghur when he was Magistrate of Hooghly, and Mr. Hampton, Superintendent of the Sooksaugur Concern? I am afraid the *manes* of Seetul Turufdar will have little satisfaction at Mr. Wauchope's hands.

Yours, &c.,
A SAXON.

No. 6.

THE GOMASHTA.—A TALE OF INDIGO PLANTING IN NUDDEA.

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Garapota, Shamnuggur, and Boro Choobrey form one Dehee within the factory line of the Bogoola Indigo Factory, which is attached to the Bhajungat Concern of the Khalbouleah estate of the Bengal Indigo Company in the district of Nuddea. When the indigo plant of the season of 1858 had attained some height, the gomashta of the Bogoola Factory ordered the ryots of the above mentioned Dehee to weed the indigo fields in such a manner that not a single bit of grass or any other kind of weed might be allowed to remain thereon. It is here necessary to mention for the information of such of our readers as are not familiar with the process of indigo cultivation, that the general practice in such cases is either to root

out or to cut off the bigger weeds, such as the plants *chakoondiah*, *golghosy*, &c., and then to turn out flocks of cattle to graze on the fields for the destruction of the *shama* and other species of grass ; in other words, indigo fields have never been known to require that particular mode of weeding by which Aoos paddy fields are cleared. The gomashta, in passing the above order, accompanied it with an injunction on his subordinates not to allow the ryots to work on their own paddy fields until the whole of the indigo lands attached to the Dehee had been weeded. The ryots, apprehending the injury which their paddy crops would sustain if the orders of the gomashta were carried out, offered to come to a compromise with him, and succeeded in settling the matter by promising to pay him 300 Rupees ; on payment of which, it was arranged, the ryots would be allowed to weed the indigo lands in the manner heretofore in use. For the easiest and speediest mode of collecting this sum, the head men of the three villages were directed to allot to the indigo cultivators the amount which, according to the quantity of land cultivated, each man would have to pay as his portion of the above mentioned 300 Rupees, and the head men of the villages were ordered to collect the allotments of their respective villages.

Kaloo Mundul, brother of Ameer Mundul, the head man of Shamnuggur, was, during the absence of Ameer Mundul, ordered to collect the cess of his village. But Kaloo demurred, saying that he was ready to pay his own share, and that as he had his own affairs to look after, he was unable to undertake the task of collecting money from the villagers. The gomashta, however, would admit of no objection, and told Kaloo, that if his personal affairs were indeed of such a pressing nature as not to allow him time for the collection, he had better pay the full amount assessed upon the whole village from his own purse, and then reimburse himself from the villagers at his leisure ; and to see this order fully carried out, the factory subordinates were strictly enjoined not to allow Kaloo Mundul to work on his own fields until he had paid the amount. But Kaloo persisted in his disobedience, and paying his own share into the hands of the factory tagidgeer, he sent his servants to his paddy grounds. The gomashta on hearing of this circumstance sent the tagidgeer back, accompanied by two *shurkewallahs*, with orders to thrash and bring



Kaloo to the factory, bound with cords, as a prisoner. The *Shurke-wallahs* lost no time in proceeding to Kaloo's home, gave him a severe beating, bound his hands tightly behind his back, and were bringing him to the factory. When the party arrived in Garapota, the tagidgeer observed one of the villagers, named Moozdeen Mundul, an old man of rather good circumstances for one of his class, sitting in his house and combing a quantity of *pat*. The tagidgeer asked him why he was at home, and not gone to weed the indigo fields, since the sum allotted to his village had not yet been realized? Moozdeen, in answer, gave him to understand that he had already paid his share to the head men of the village, who were engaged in the collection; and in order to prove his assertion, offered to conduct them to the presence of the head man; upon which one of the peons, through sheer wantonness, caught hold of his beard, and began dragging him away, saying, "Come, old hog, now show us the way to your fathers, the Munduls." The old man, not being able to sustain the violence, fell down in a swoon with his face on the ground, but his persecutors, instead of relenting, treated him with several kicks on his back. The nephew of Moozdeen, seeing all this, ran to the Munduls, who were at that very time holding a meeting for the collection of the gomashtha's cess.

These men had but a moment before heard of the affair relating to Kaloo. The Munduls got incensed, and seeing from the instances already before them—in which two of the most respectable villagers had been grossly insulted and outraged—that no one was safe from such iniquities, resolved not to put up with the occurrence, and regardless of the consequences, they ran to the spot, vowing vengeance on the offenders. As might be expected, they returned the beating on the factory servants with compound interest, and then binding them just as the latter had bound Kaloo, shut them up in a cowfold. After nightfall, when the violence of their rage had subsided a little the Munduls too late saw that they had gone a little too far, and with the view of compromising the matter, they released their prisoners, and bribed them with five rupees, on the understanding that they were not to mention the circumstance to their saheb or gomashtha. But the tagidgeer and peons had felt themselves too much insulted to think of the foregoing

revenge. So, the moment they got their release, and without even going to the gomashtha, they proceeded to Bhajunghat, and gave to Mr. Tweedie, the superintendent, a most exaggerated story, suppressing, of course, all that they had done to Kaloo and Moozdeen. Next morning Mr. Tweedie, accompanied by about a dozen armed up-country lattials, came to the village, and although the villagers related to him the indignities which they had suffered from the tagidgeer's hands, he heeded them not, but ordered the head men to follow to the Bogoola Factory. The villagers, observing that the tone in which the saheb spoke to them, and judging from a knowledge of antecedents that no good was in store for them, and apprehending that they would be sent by Mr. Tweedie either to Bhajunghat or Khalboaleah, where they were certain of being severely chastised, held a consultation, and determined to fight out the thing and to resist the planter to the best of their might. They accordingly disobeyed Mr. Tweedie's orders, and did not go to Bogoola. The factory people, finding themselves slighted, sent up a petition to the Magistrate, to the effect that the villagers had looted their cutcherry house of Garapota, plundered a large sum of money, and committed violence on the persons of their servants. In this matter the head men of the whole Dehee were named as defendants. In the meantime the services of about fifty professional shurkewallahs from Jessore were engaged, and they were quartered in the neighbouring villages with the intent of waylaying inhabitants of the Dehee, and with the object of looting Garapota, its chief village.

The ryots, notwithstanding their combination, felt themselves too weak to carry on the present dispute with the rich Khalboaleah Concern for any great length of time. They therefore, with the view of inducing some man of wealth and influence to back them, thought of asking the assistance of their neighbouring zemindar, Baboo Brindabun Sircar, of Shibnibash, who at that particular time happened to have fallen out with Mr. Roberts, the superintendent at Khalboaleah. Brindabun Baboo not being then at home, his nephew refused to take the responsibility of openly abetting the ryots; but told them that he would write to the baboo and be guided by his answer. During the interval, Brindabun's nephew did thus much to assist the ryots, that he ordered his

own peons to keep watch around Garapota, and to join the villagers in defending themselves from any attacks that the saheb's people might attempt, but at the same time strictly forbade the peons to show themselves publicly or to enter the village during the daytime. In a few days Baboo Brindabun returned home, and informed the ryots, that, as he himself was sufficiently occupied with his dispute with the saheb, and more particularly as the district authorities appeared to be favourably inclined towards the planters, he did not think it expedient to meddle in their affair.

The sahebs, on the other hand, after instituting the suit of *loot traj* in the Criminal Court mentioned above, asked the permission of the Magistrate to employ twenty-four men to serve as a body-guard of the gomashtha attached to the Dchee. The Magistrate, without investigating into the matter, or even questioning the propriety of allowing such an unusual number of armed men to locate themselves in behalf of the richer party, and more so in a place where a dispute was existing, granted the request; whereupon the factory proprietors procured two dozen of the most noted shurkewallahs, and with the aid of the police sent them to Garapota in company with their gomashtha.

The ryots could not possibly resist the order of the Magistrate, and were therefore obliged to allow the shurkewallahs to come and take up their quarters in the village. Every resident of the Mofussil knows how annoying is the presence of these men in a village even when they are brought and quartered privately by zemindars and planters on the occasion of a dispute, and it therefore needs not be told the extent to which these twenty-four men carried their mischievous frocks, backed as they believed themselves to be by an order of the Magistrate. The ryots, however, as a last hope, petitioned the Magistrate, explaining to him the real circumstances of the case, and also the pretence under which the sahebs had prevailed upon him (the Magistrate) to permit them to employ notorious shurkewallahs, and solicited him to withdraw the order. They offered at the same time to stand on personal recognisances, and to give bail in assurance of their peaceful intention, and prayed to have the shurkewallahs replaced by an equal number of policemen, if

the Magistrate believed that the indigo planter's interests were in real danger. No attention was paid to this petition. The villagers, now finding their case hopeless, thought it to be their best course to submit and to settle the matter amicably. With that purpose in view, the head men went in a body to Mr. Roberts at Khalboaleah to tender their submission. They there explained to him the reasons which had actuated them in their resistance, and now asked his pardon. Mr. Roberts in reply gave them to understand that they must pay down immediately 300 Rupees as a fine to the Concern before he could grant their request; and the better and sooner to realise the amount, he ordered every one of them to be shut up in the factory godown until it was paid. The ryots, after much entreaty, obtained permission to send one of their body home for the money. This man came to Garapota, collected the money in the best manner he could, and returned to Khalboaleah with the amount. The fine being paid, the ryots were released.

It will here not be out of place to mention that Koylash Chunder Roy Mohashoy, of Degumberpore, was shut up in the Khalboaleah Factory godown at the same time and place with these men.

But the punishment of the ryots of the Dehee did not end in Khalboaleah, for immediately on their return home, the gomashtha of Bogoola, who was the primary cause of the dispute, demanded from them the three hundred rupees which they had agreed to pay him as weeding subscription money. The ryots this time could do nothing else but pay the amount, and it was then at last that the gomashtha's body-guard, which had been sanctioned by the Magistrate, was withdrawn.—*Hindoo Patriot*, January 14, 1860.

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## PLANTERS *versus* MISSIONARIES.

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PLANTERS AND MISSIONARIES.—The Kishnaghur planters have commenced their biennial campaign against the missionaries, and in the present case the Pulpit certainly gets the better of the Vats.

It would appear that, during his late tour, the ryots at Nuddea presented some petitions to the Lieutenant-Governor, complaining of the grievous oppression they suffered at the hands of the planters. The Lieutenant-Governor paid the greatest attention to these complaints, found out that many of the charges were true, and directed more attention to be paid by the local authorities to grievances of the cultivating classes. The ryots were astonished at, for once, getting justice done them after the lapse of so many years, and have taken into their wicked and turbulent heads to consider whether this piece of justice is consistent with the assertions of the planters, that Government insists upon their sowing indigo against their will. They have long implicitly believed these assertions ; they have had carefully pointed out to them on every occasion the great influence the Bengal Indigo Company has exercised on the Bengal Government. They have been induced to believe that for years the Bengal Indigo Company had the nomination of all the Nuddea officials. They have seen how the late Lieutenant-Governor came and spent a week at the Bengal Indigo Company's factories ; how he was taken round on an elephant to the scene of some of the greatest outrages that have been committed by a planter ; how he acted the part of a hysterical Marius, and laughed with the manager over the ruins of Goaltollee, and admired the indigo that was sown where a few months before a prosperous village had stood. They saw how Deputy Magistrates were removed for endeavouring to prevent planters from taking forcible possession of the fields of the cultivators ; they saw their oppressors made Honorary Magistrates, and they were ready enough to believe anything that was told them by designing planters of the orders of Government, and the instructions received by the Magistrates not to interfere to protect them,—and small blame to them. Far be it from us to say, that when they did complain, their cases were not duly enquired into, or that any actual prejudice in favour of the planters was shown by the local authorities ; but they dared not complain, and when they did, trained witnesses and hush money to the police were too much for them ; for years therefore the ryots of Kishnaghur have lived in a state of sullen, dogged discontent, hating Government, hating the name of Englishmen. They have now complained and have had justice done them ; and feel that they have been throughout deceived as to the interest of Govern-

ment in the cultivation of indigo ; they even begin to doubt now whether the late Lieutenant-Governor had the personal interest in the success of the indigo crop that the planters represented him to have. The consequence is, that this year they refuse to sow, unless they are paid a price equal to that which they obtain for rice and other crops. The planters, instead of at once seeing the matter in a proper light, and admitting that like all dogs they have had their day, and that if they want to get on they must henceforth pay honestly for what they want, have commenced to fume and rave at the missionaries, and say—which they know to be false—that designing men have given out that Mr. Grant has issued an order to ~~put a stop~~ to indigo planting. This assertion is a mere cunning attempt to frighten Mr. Grant into the belief that by doing justice he will close all the indigo factories ; they know that he does not want to do this, and, therefore, think that by spreading this report they will induce him to draw back.

The falsehood of this statement is apparent from the very words of those who propagate it. The Kishnaghur correspondent of the *Englishman* says in proof of his assertion, that “some of them have gone to him (Mr. Grant) direct with their petitions—influenced by men who have no desire to see the ryots more prosperous than they are.” Now, if they derive this prosperity from the cultivation of indigo, what have they to *petition* about ? If they really believed that an order had been given to put a stop to indigo cultivation, would they go and petition at all ? If the cultivation of indigo is voluntary, would not they go on sowing until the Police came and prohibited them ? Would even that stop them ? Would it not take a force of about 50,000 men to put a stop to the cultivation of rice for instance ? Are the natives so very anxious to obey the laws of the Government as to give up the cultivation of a remunerative crop merely on a report spread by missionaries that the Lieutenant-Governor did not approve of the crop ? If, on the other hand, the cultivation was unpopular, and they believed that the Government had prohibited it, would they petition at all ? Would not they go to the Magistrate of the district and say—“Government has ordered the cultivation of indigo to be stopped ? Mr. Rod, or Mr. Perch, or Mr. Marlow are going to sow it on our lands, let them be stopped.” The very fact of

the ryots coming direct to Mr. Grant to petition shows that they are under no misapprehension of the description alleged by the planters ; weary of oppression they go to him for relief from that oppression, and finding that they get justice, they determine no longer to be slaves : they have found out that they may sow what crop they like on their own land, and will not therefore sow one which is a dead loss to them.

We trust that the ryots of the whole of Bengal will follow the example of those of Kishnaghur. Two years of pressure will convince the planters that honesty is the best policy, and they will then make up their minds to pay properly for what they want. The last two years have worked a revolution in the condition of the cultivating classes. The high prices of grain and oil seeds have converted half-starved cultivators into prosperous peasant proprietors ; it is only in the large indigo-growing districts that the ryots have not been benefited by this change. Thousands upon thousands of acres of picked land is there taken up with a crop that does not repay the cultivator the cost of seed, tilling, and rent, and this when rice is fetching Rs. 3 per maund. If the whole of this had been at the disposal of the ryots, instead of being locked up, what would not their condition have now been ? As it is, it might just as well have been unreclaimed jungle as far as the interests of the ryots are concerned. If the planters must have indigo, they must prepare to pay the highest rate of the most remunerative crop for it ; and not only this, but they must pay something more as recompense for the interference that the cultivation of this crop entails upon the producer, and must further make up their minds to keep their accounts honestly and take fair measure.

But to return to the missionaries. The charge against them is, that one of their body drew up a very excellent petition on behalf of certain ryots, and that this petition called forth from the Lieutenant-Governor enquiries and orders which have undeceived the ryots as to their position as regards the planters. Surely if there was ever one act more becoming the position of a Christian clergyman than another, it would be an act of this sort. The planters, however, to punish him drag him and his private affairs before the public, hold him up to scorn for

his marriage with a native Christian, and question whether his object in marrying was purely spiritual. None but a planter could descend to such a vile course as this for the purpose of silencing a political opponent. Supposing this missionary did marry "a common village girl," what of it? Has he not as much right to marry whom he likes as a planter has? We are very sure of this, that nothing is so likely to make the mission successful as marriage of this sort, which brings the missionaries into immediate contact with the people around them; and we should be glad to hear that all the missionaries had done likewise. What right have the planters to analyse his motives in forming this connection? Why, on earth, should they be purely spiritual any more than those of the planters in marrying a white village girl? If the Kishnaghur correspondent will look around him, he will find that he owes some of his dearest friends not only to village maids, but something very much less respectable and maidenly than village maids and the daughters of ryots. Why is the missionary to be any more spiritual than the fathers of these men? Perhaps it is the fact of marriage that irritates the planters so much.

However, there is nothing new in these petitions; precisely similar petitions possibly drawn up by the same hand were presented by the ryots to Mr. Halliday when he made his first tour as Lieutenant-Governor: they were never even unfolded, and therefore the natural acts of the ryots were not attributed to designing men, as they would have been had he acted upon these.

As the planters have declared war, we hope that the missionaries will take the matters up, and let the public know what the indigo system is in Kishnaghur.—*Indian Field*, December 10, 1859.

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NUDDEA PLANTERS.—We give below a letter from Mr. Bomwetsch, the Missionary of Kishnaghur, with reference to the attacks which have been made upon him by the planters. Mr. Bomwetsch has come forward in his own name, and has stated his case manfully, temperately, and as becomes a Christian missionary. Let the Kishnaghur planters now do



the same, and the matter will then be brought to a fair issue. Mr. Bomwetsch's great crime is, as we supposed, the having undeceived the ryots as to their legal obligation to sow indigo for the planters against their will, and having exposed the deception which the Kishnaghur planters have so long and successfully practised of persuading the ryots that the head of the Government is personally interested in the cultivation of indigo. The ryots see that the little family combination of Magistrates, Collectors, and Local Managers is scattered ; they have actually made themselves heard by Government, and to their great astonishment have received justice at the hands of the highest authority : it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they should have the "*unparalleled insolence*" to begin to discuss openly whether it is possible, after all, that there is no real law making them the bondsmen of the planters, and that they have the right to dispose of the property at the market price, and to whom they like. Mr. Bomwetsch has with him the feeling of every honest man in the country. The planters may bluster as they may, and intrigue and concoct what plans they like in the backslums of Mission Row, "or at Planters' Diggings," the time has come when they must pay or go : they have two alternatives—to open their purses, or shut their factories.

"DEAR SIR,—Before that indigo planter of Kishnaghur (*i. e.* of the Nuddea district) sent that letter of his to the *Englishman*, I was told by another planter, who had seen it in manuscript, that he would do so. But I never took the trouble to send for the *Englishman* in order to read it, as I could well guess from the man's former writing against missionaries, that, besides a few gross misstatements and some falsehoods, which no body would believe, and a vehement and libellous attack on my honour as a man or as a Christian, he would have very little to say for himself and his brother-oppressors ; and this, I was sure, could not hurt me, but only harm him and his blue cause ; for I was, from the manner people spoke to me of the letter, under the impression that the planter had signed his name and given mine also. But from your remarks on it, I see the designing planter has not done so. Nor am I less surprised to find that the charges, ridiculous as they partly are, are actually believed, and that in quarters where I least expected it ; and that I am blamed for

having over-stepped my line. And, although you do not think so, but would—as all right-thinking and merciful people would—even encourage me, still as the charges are so entirely false, and as the designing planter wants thereby even to reflect discredit on the Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor, I think it right to contradict them ; for, although I shall ever consider it my duty to assist these so cruelly oppressed people I shall always do it in a way becoming my position as a missionary. Above all, I shall never try—as is hinted at—to get at the authorities in a dishonest, round-about way ; but shall act in a straightforward manner.

*First.*—As to my having spread the report that “ Mr. Grant had issued an order to put a stop to indigo planting : ” it is a designed falsehood.

*Secondly.*—As to my having sent any ryots to the Lieutenant-Governor, or even to the Commissioner : ditto.

*Thirdly.*—As to my having ever written, or dictated, any petition to the Lieutenant-Governor or the Commissioner : ditto.

*Fourthly.*—As to the affair of Gobindpore, near Hauskhally, I mean the affair of Mr. White, I am not only innocent, but was entirely ignorant of it, until, a few weeks ago, a planter himself gave me a full account of it. I had never so much as heard of it. Only this much can I now say, that, had the Commissioner and the Lieutenant-Governor heard the account, it would have evoked still more stringent measures than the case has already done ; and young Mr. White would now, in all probability, share the fate of his servants. As it stands, the planters laugh at the ryots, and boast, even in the face of the missionaries, of always coming out clean of the most flagrant cases ; and the ryots are kept under the impression that the Magistrates are their avowed enemies and the warmest friends of the planters.

But to come to the confession of my grievous sin committed against the indigo planters. What I have done is simply this : some months ago I went, in open daylight, to Mr. Reid, the Commissioner, then at

Kishnaghur, to plead with him on behalf of the cruelly oppressed people of two villages within my former mission district. But I did not do so with the intention of sending the people to him, for they had already prepared a petition to him, but *lacked courage to go up to him*, and at the same time despaired of getting justice at all. But what brought the people to me, and what induced me to speak to Mr. Reid, I must tell you in a separate letter. For the present I will merely make my confession. On behalf of two other villages in my former mission districts I wrote a letter to Mr. Reid. But I did not send the people to the Commissioner; *they were already on their way to him*, and without my knowledge of their previous intention. Moreover, I have given no letter to any one. People are constantly coming through here on their way to the Commissioner or the Lieutenant-Governor, all without my previous knowledge of their intention, and want letters to Mr. Reid and Mr. Grant; but I steadfastly refuse, telling the people it was not necessary; justice would be done to them without it. That these people want letters is nothing out of the way; every one who has lived only a few years in this country will comprehend it.

A third grievous sin that I committed against the planters is this: the people before going to Calcutta asked me whether I was sure that there did not exist, *after all, a secret law, according to which they would be obliged or forced to sow indigo against their will?* I assured them the law ~~was~~ righteous and in their favour: no one could compel them to sow indigo against their own will. And when the people wanted to know whether the new Governor was a man like the old one, that is, *whether he had shared in indigo*, and whether he was the friend of the planters, &c., &c., I positively answered in the negative, telling them, in the oriental fashion, that he was justice himself, and would not overstep the straight path a hairsbreadth, either to the right or to the left; and that, if from any one, they could expect justice from him, and also from the Commissioner. I am sure I have not given a false impression to the people. The people also know very well that indigo cultivation will not ~~cease~~; only they want to be at liberty to sow when they please, and where they please; *and to sell it to that factory that pays most for it. They won't be slaves any longer.* Nay, they are much less than

slaves. And I confidently do hope and pray, that our noble Governor will not lay down his reign before he has emancipated the ryot-slaves of Bengal, and depart this country with the blessings of millions of alleviated sufferers following him, and not both the curses of the oppressed as well as the abuses of the oppressors alike, as in the case of our late Governor. How true it is that "No one can serve two masters." No man can be just and unjust at the same time, nor earn the applause of both parties, the righteous and the unrighteous. If you will give this a place in your columns as early as possible, you will greatly oblige

*Santipore, 22nd December.*

Yours faithfully,  
C. BOMWETSCH."

We have satisfaction in being able to support so many of our charges against the planters by the unbiassed evidence of a Christian clergyman, a man who has come out to pass his life in peacefully benefiting his native neighbours, a man who *can* have no prejudices against the planters, and whose profession is an ample guarantee for the truth of his statements. If the planters *will* persist in denying the oppressive nature of their system in opposing all reform, and in vilifying, by means of a paid agent and a purchased press, all those who endeavour to remedy the great evil, the only thing that remains will be a Commission of Enquiry for the purpose of ascertaining how far these allegations are true, and how far false. Are the planters prepared for this? we trow not.—*Indian Field, December 31, 1859.*

*To the Editor of "The Indian Field."*

DEAR SIR,—Now kindly permit me to tell you what occasioned my interceding for the poor ryots of Howlia and Pathorghata. When I lived at Solo, one of the stations of the C. M. Society, my congregation, consisting of nearly a thousand souls, was dispersed all over the neighbouring villages, amongst which were the above named. I was every thing to the helpless people around me, not only to Christians, but also to Hin-

doos and Mussulmans. But above every thing they valued the protection I always afforded them against *neeler dourátina* (Indigo-oppressions); because, although I was not able, neither did I try, to do overmuch for them, still they were always preserved from ruin.

Six years ago I had to leave the station for Europe, and after my return had to take up Santipore as my station; and often since have I thanked God for having got me out of the way of Indigo planting, all the troubles it entailed on me, and the grief I had to suffer, while daily obliged to witness the most cold-blooded oppression the poor people have to endure from a set of men *whose consciences have been eaten by the cancer of covetousness, "the root of all evil,"* and who call themselves (as one of them wrote to me) "a set of Christian gentlemen." Now, about five or six months ago, I was called upon by my Society to go up to Bollobhpore and my old station Solo, to use my influence with the Christians, in order to prevent the unsteady and ignorant amongst them from joining the Roman Catholic priest, who tried to entice them away.

While staying there the people of Howlia and Gowalparra came in a mass, imploring my assistance against "Indigo oppression," which they said had reached its highest pitch, and was sufferable no longer. I was much grieved to be obliged to tell them I could do nothing for them. But what sorrow and depression I felt on beholding the poverty of the people and the desolation of the once at least comparatively prosperous villages, I am unable to describe to you. One village especially I could hardly recognise at all. The first greehastas (villagers) I found either ruined or at the brink of ruin: as to the common peasants, they are starving with their families. If my heart had been but of stone, it would have burst at seeing and hearing what I then saw and heard. Still I never dreamt of doing any thing towards alleviating the sufferings of these, well knowing that, besides the little assistance which I could afford while living among them, all other efforts would prove vain; for what the people want is protection against outrages committed on them when *unwilling to receive advances*. Thus the only thing to be done was, afresh to cry up to God in heaven for relief, which we have done in regular prayer meetings for the purpose. The Hindoos in their way

celebrate poojah against the evil, and the Mussulmans make *nâmdâz*, and say now it was all in vain, and we often thought so too. But all that happens—if we have read history to some purpose at all—is either ordered, or at least permitted by God, and always for a certain purpose : and prophecies must needs be fulfilled, even those pronounced by Deputy Collectors. Mr. Ausberrz, a Deputy Collector, who is one of the most efficient Government servants in his line, after his first tour through the district, when he called on me at Solo, told me (I could give his words in quotation) “*I had better go away from this district, as I would never succeed in doing any thing in the way of preaching.*” When I asked for his reason for saying so, he said, “*as long as the planters are here, no one will listen to you,*” and then gave me a description of the cruel oppression exercised by my co-religionists, that “*set of Christian gentlemen,*” and said that “*within ten years the whole district would be pauperised.*” He also told me he had written to Government on the subject, and would write again. But ten years ago who dared to say any thing against these Christian gentlemen, and what Government would dream of listening to what either a Deputy Collector or a Judge (of Mr. Sconce’s standing) said ? But the prophecy of Mr. Ausberrz has been fulfilled, although it is now eleven years since the prediction was uttered ; and the pauperised ryots have had the impertinence of reminding Government of it. Government cannot but hear, and soon I hope the glorious time will come, when the ryots will sell their indigo, and get their due for it as well as for rice, linsced, or any other crop.

But to return to my own case :—After I had returned home for about two months, about twenty ryots of Howlia and Gowalpara came to me from Lagachiparra (the zemindars of which place, their real landlords had rented out those villages to the Nischindipore Firm), saying that now for fourteen days they had been imploring their original and real zemindars on their knees to take the land away from Mr. Forlong. But, the ten years of izara not having expired, they could not possibly do so, and the zemindars and ryots agreed that I should be entreated to represent their case to the Magistrate ; and as I had already made up my mind to go up to Kishnaghur, I promised the poor people to speak to the Magistrate. In the mean time, however, the people had agreed, or

rather the zemindars (who came to see me) had advised them to petition the Commissioner. This occasioned my calling on Mr. Reid. But if at the time I had known that other villages had already petitioned the Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor, I think I would not have gone to Mr. Reid, from fear of being suspected of having anything to do with the ryot movement already in motion, since I should have been well aware that the planters would readily avail themselves of the opportunity of saying that the whole of the movement had been designed by the Missionaries.

But suppose even I had spoken to the Commissioner with the intention of helping on the good movement, of which again I affirm I was totally ignorant, have I not a right to call on the Commissioner, or Magistrate, or any other officer I choose, and to speak to him what I please, as long as he permits me to do so, considering moreover that I am an entirely private person? Nor am I, as is very well known, a selfish proselytizer. What then, I ask, *could be* my motives in speaking to the Commissioner, except to relieve, if possible, poor helpless sufferers? And if this be unworthy of my vocation as a Clergyman and a Missionary, I must afresh learn what my duties are.

Do the planters mean to assert that they only have a *right to call on, to dine, to play, and lodge with Judges, Collectors, Magistrates, and Deputy Magistrates?* Nay, is it not very unjust in these officials to receive planters at all, *men who continually are accused, before the self-same officials, of the most heinous crimes committed under the sun, and who have, without interval, not dozens, but hundreds of cases pending in the Courts?* Here lies the secret of the evil. Hence the poor ryots, who for so many, many years are groaning under the cruel yoke of planters, cannot, on any account, find justice at the hands of the authority. I do not mean to say that all Magistrates and Judges do always wilfully pervert justice (although I will another time give some instances even of this), but they are either bought or sold by the planters (about this too another time), or, what is more frequently the case, owing to constant friendly private intercourse with them, and an innate hatred of the "niggers," they, more or less unconsciously, are

unduly prejudiced in favour of the first, and against the latter, with whom they have—in some instances that I could mention—no intercourse whatsoever, except officially in court, and then even only mostly with the worst specimens, and not immediately but intermediately through a set of corrupt amlahs. These charitable excuses, however, it must be considered, more apply rather to common *mokhadommas* between the planters and natives, than to our present case ; for, although the ryots state their grievances, it is not because they want the planters to be punished ; but they simply crave the protection of Government against the outrages committed on them by the planters for insisting on selling their indigo as they do any other produce of their lands. And this protection, although theoretically granted, has been until now in practice positively refused to them ; nay, the people were frequently worse off after complaint than before. For hear how those people, I have pleaded for, fared. The Darogah came (the people said bribed by the factory), wanting by all means to compel them to come to an agreement with the planter ; but seeing them altogether unwilling, he at last consented to write a report on the condition of getting Company's Rupees 300. Somehow or other he did after all not write a report. The Joint Magistrate of Karempore too came according to the Commissioner's order, but not to their village. He spent a jolly day in the factory, whence he called the ryots, telling them they should come to an agreement with the planter. And when the people insisted on telling him their grievances, he forbade them to tell him any thing except what had happened during the last month. They told him that during the last month nothing had happened, but that they had been running about to get protection, which, as they now could see, had been in vain, and went away. When the planter heard that the people had again tried to get justice, he at last (knowing that a Missionary was backing the people) thought it prudent to put on the "Christian gentleman," and went to or called for the few Christians that live in these two villages, telling them that he was their (Christian) brother : he had not been aware of their living there, and was glad to have found it out ; henceforth they should *have to sow* very little indigo, and that he would make a *girja* for them, &c., and gave every one a rupee, and all of them a *khanna*, and as they were encouraged to accept of it by a feeble



Missionary, they left their Hindoo and Mussulman brethren in the lurch. And lest any of them should be able to complain again, the two villages were surrounded by a host of lattials, and the two *parrahs* were prevented from communicating with each other. The leader amongst them, an inhabitant of a third village (Treehut), was by lattials kept a prisoner in his own house. This news was brought to me by a man who during the night had escaped. He begged very hard of me not to leave them in the lurch like the few selfish Christians had done, and to write a letter with my own hand, saying I would not do so, or else all would lose courage. But since for good reasons I could not do so, the man went away, evidently under the impression that I despaired of doing any thing more for them. The last account I heard was, that the abovenamed head man at last was taken to the factory, and ultimately yielded to an offer of employment. The people are again frightened into the belief that it is a criminal offence in the sight of Government to groan under the heavy yoke of the planters.

As to the Patharghata people, I heard from a Missionary that about a hundred lattials are collected at Khidoypore, ready at any moment to loot their village. But the people are determined to secure protection, but when they saw that the Magistrate would not do any thing for them, they insisted on petitioning the Commissioner once more, and when they heard from the amlahs (true or false, I can't say, for aught I know the planters' friend in disguise may have spread the report), that the Magistrate was a friend of Mr. Forlong, and had written to the Commissioner in favour of the planters and against the ryots, they at once were determined to go right up to the Lieutenant-Governor. I strongly dissuaded them from doing so, telling them, as long as the Commissioner and the Magistrate did not positively refuse to grant them protection, they should not take this step. But the men said, "we are now for months running about praying for protection, and do not yet dare venture to return to our homes from fear of being captured and carried we do not know where to." Two men of their village had already been taken away; against many of them false cases had been instituted in another Division, in order to take them away, under that pretence, many, many miles off their houses to the Kareepore Magistrate, whom they knew, from how he had

acted toward the Howlia and Goalpara people, to be a thorough friend of the planters, and an enemy to the ryots. What the people are now doing I do not know, as for a long time I have neither seen nor heard any thing of them, having been travelling about in tent. My time is<sup>4</sup> up, another time more.

Yours faithfully,  
C. BOMWETSCH.

*In Camp, 8th January, 1860.*

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## THE INDIGO CONTEST AND ITS ISSUE.

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THE advocates of the existing system of indigo-planting in lower Bengal are endeavouring to envelope the real question in masses of irrelevant statements and specious fallacies. The contest between the planter and the ryot is at one time ascribed to "antagonism of race," at another to the "inherent treachery" of the Bengalee. By one it is described as the result of the machinations of the zemindar, who is jealous of the presence of an influential and intelligent witness of his tyrannies; by another as a necessary consequence of the existence of a covenanted civil service; and by a third as the immediate fruit of bad judicature. Reasons much more recondite are offered by speculators more ingenious; one only is never mentioned—apparently because it happens to be the true one—namely, that in Lower Bengal indigo-planting does not pay the cultivator.

And how can it pay? A few facts illustrative of indigo-planting finance will convince our readers that it is hopeless to expect the ryot to voluntarily undertake a cultivation so ill-requiting as indigo cultivation in Lower Bengal has been made to be. He can scarcely be expected to be very enthusiastic in the cause of the development of the country's resources, when he sees that that enthusiasm can lead only to ruin and starvation.

First then—we are speaking of indigo-planting in Nuddea—an advance of two rupees is given for every beegah to be cultivated with

indigo. The beegah is measured out by servants of the factory, and by a well-understood rule, which forms a part of the system, is made equivalent to a biggah and half of ordinary measurement. Two rupees, or four shillings, are advanced for the cultivation of half an acre of land. This is the immense "assistance" which the ryot receives from the factory, and which, if we are to believe factory historians, places him above the reach of want, starvation, and the money-lender for a whole year.

Next comes the question, how much land is each ryot to cultivate with indigo? That too is decided by the consuetude of years. A ryot who owns one plough and a pair of oxen is to cultivate four beegahs of factory measurement, and so on in proportion. The burden thus distributed, heavy as it is, would have been borne if the burthened had been allowed to carry it their own fashion. But no. The soil must be worked upon without interruption from Maugh to Choit, until a few showers of rain render it fit for the reception of the seed. During this part of the season, the ryot is not allowed to look on the right side or the left, to attend to his other lands or crops, to work any otherwise but on the marked land.

The plants come to have four leaves. Weeding, a process which in the earlier days of indigo-planting was never used, and which all ryots protest is not necessary to the extent to which it is now required to be carried, commences. The ryot must again suspend all other avocations of life to attend to the carrying out of this *idea* till Joist. Suppose the man farms ten beegahs, and owns one plough and a pair of oxen. If he had been left to himself he would probably have cultivated his six beegahs of indigo, while preparing his remaining four beegahs for the paddy crop. We do not exactly say that this last he does not do, for the staff of life must be secured, and the customary presents to the factory officials obtain him the privilege of looking to his paddy lands.

A beegah of indigo land requires, in the parlance of the field, twenty ploughs, which cost, say at two annas a plough, 2 rupees 8 annas. The weeding costs a rupee; the seed another. The reaping and carriage cost at least 8 annas. And then there is the rent of the land, which may be

fixed at one rupee and four annas. Thus a beegah of indigo cultivation costs at the minimum 6 rupees and 4 annas. Now, take the other side of the page. A cart-load of the plant is—by the same law of modern consuetude—accounted one bundle. The chain of three cubits is gone out of date. The produce of each beegah is now ordinarily estimated at five or six of such bundles, and in the best season does not exceed eight. The price paid by the factory is, as Mr. Forlong attests, six bundles the rupee. The whole crop of a beegah, therefore, sells on an average for a rupee. The cost to the ryot, as we have seen, is six rupees and four annas. Thus arises a loss of five rupees and four annas on every beegah, or twenty-one rupees to the owner of each plough.

Thus stands the main account. If the items be true—and we challenge our readers to disprove their accuracy—the system which makes such transactions possible must be pronounced atrociously oppressive. And so it is felt to be by the ryots. But there are incidental to indigo planting, as practised in Bengal, other evils, the sum total of which constitute one of the most elaborately organized systems of creating and inflicting misery that could be conceived. The planter is usually a farmer of the lands on which his factory lies and the plant is grown. Planter farmers pay enormous rents to their zemindars, in some instances more even than the ascertained rental receivable from the ryots. This the planter can afford to give, because he thereby acquires over the ryots an influence which is convertible into immense profits. The planter, however, seldom fails to add his izardaree—farmer's allowance. He then rack-rents the ryot more than the most oppressive zemindar can do. The planters sometimes cultivate the plant on their own account. There are factories with hundreds of beegahs of neez cultivation which do not keep a single plough of their own. The ryots must furnish ploughs, cattle, and labour, of course not on the most remunerative rates, if any, of hire.

The outrages reported to have been committed at Lokenathpore and Kalapanee are merely incidental manifestations of a spirit which we now plainly see, but of the existence of which we had no idea when the missionaries petitioned Parliament. They then said that rebellion was

possible in Bengal. We disbelieved it. We thought there was no end to patience of our countrymen, and a stout one to Anglo-Saxon rapacity. We have now learnt better. The note no doubt sounded strong when the ryots of Kalapanec shouted "out with the English." It was rebellion. But who dare catch it—hold it?

The Government of Bengal is already being taxed with the three letters it has written. We yet hope Mr. Grant will have the pluck to fight the fight out.—*Hindoo Patriot*, March 3, 1860.

### NUDDEA PLANTERS.

*To the Editor of "The Indian Field."*

DEAR SIR,—I had already another letter ready for the *Field*, a few personal words to Mr. Furlong; but in such a serious affair as the present, where the welfare of millions is concerned, minor points must yield to the one great object in view, *which, again I would press it, is not "to make the sowing of indigo optional."* For who ever doubted it was not? The law does not permit any zemindar, Native or European, to throw down some six or ten rupees to the advance-hating ryots' feet, and if unwilling to pick them up, to compel them to do so with the horsewhip, and then to enter their names into his book as being under contract, and then measure away their best lands, (and almost always by a false measure,) one-third more than was nominally agreed to, and then under pretence of contract to make them work for him all the year round, and pay them next to nothing, or, as it happens in bad seasons, to keep their names down for arrears. What law on the face of the earth would countenance such foul proceedings? *At least the English law does not, and never will; for the English people can never will to have it so.* All that law-talk is to no purpose, or is to any, merely to blind the eyes of the public at home, as Mr. Underhill, a Secretary of the Baptist Mission Society, has done; and to keep the good and well-disposed English people living scattered in this country, but not sufficiently acquainted with the nature of indigo planting, under the false impression as if the ryots gave endless troubles to the planters by not

fulfilling their contracts. *The one great object in view is, to procure, protection for those ryots who are not willing to take advances.* And for this purpose no new law or regulation is necessary, but new, or so to speak, renewed Magistrates, men unprejudiced, unbiassed, and just, and who “strain every nerve to bring” the numerous cases of looting, beating, kidnapping, false imprisonments, and murder “home to the offenders,” even to the planters (I always feel sorry for some well-disposed men amongst them). One would have thought that, after the Lieutenant-Governor’s own vigorous efforts, things would come round to a healthful state. But no such thing. Until now his exhortations and reprimands have, with two exceptions, (to the praise of Mr. Tottenham and Mr. Dwarkanath Dey be it said,) been in vain. “The cases, which are known to be of daily occurrence, in which ryots are kidnapped and imprisoned, and carried from place to place by zemindars and planters, with impunity, are—*still*—“a disgraceful blot upon the district administration in Bengal.” Nay, impunity must be speedily growing and ripening into a fierce feeling of bitter revenge, when a planter dares to horsewhip a Government officer ! The report about the lattials mentioned in my last letter is but too true. Some hundreds of lattials and spears-men are at this moment assembled to loot the villages of Pathorghatta, Gobindopore, and Maliaputta or Chandrabash, because the ryots still refuse to take advances or to enter into contract with the planter, lest they should have him say they had not kept the contract. Many villages petitioned the Magistrate again and again, implored the Commissioner over and over again, humbly beseeched even the Governor himself, to grant them protection from the persecutions of the planters ; but instead of obtaining any remedy, have afresh been mercilessly delivered into the hands of their oppressors. Since the above was written I have received a letter from Kishnaghur, the civil station, informing me that ryots had come into the station, having their whole substance, ploughs, &c., packed on carts, “to seek for protection,” and remained near the cutcherry for days without any redress. How they have left these quarters, and what has been done on their behalf, is not known. The ryots are more than ever impressed with the idea that the confederacy between planters and Magistrates (both covenanted and uncovenanted) was an inseparable one. But my time being nearly up, I must

come to the point I wish to gain, if possible to save the above named villages from destruction and the poor people from utter ruination. I humbly trust my letter will attract the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, and that he will secure protection for these people by most stringent measures.

Mr. Lincke, of Bollobhpore, who lives amongst those people, writes (16th January 1860) to Mr. Stern, my fellow labourer at Santipore, as follows :—“The people in the threatened villages are sore afraid, and those who can have their wives, children, and cattle sent away to other places. Those persons who remain cannot get out of their villages for fear of being caught and carried off. To several of whom it has happened so. Several of the villages have given in, and I believe only two or three in this neighbourhood are still holding out, and these are the villages which are threatened with being looted. I wonder how it will end. I am afraid all return to *as it was before*. Nothing good for the people will result.”

Two lads of 18 and 19 years, pupils of our Training Institution, were expressly sent to my tent in order to tell me what they had seen and heard themselves, as they have only just now returned from their vacation, which they spent at Bollobhpore. They say those quarters look quite warlike. The contemplated loot had not yet taken place, because the planter's lattials were sore afraid of the villagers, who were determined to give them fierce battle. They had divided themselves into at least six different companies. One company consists merely of bowmen. Another of slingsmen, like David of old. Another company consists of brickwallas, for which purpose they have even, as I hear, collected the scattered bricks about my old compound. Another company consists of balewallahs. Their business is merely to send the hard unripe bale-fruit at the heads of the planter's lattials. Again, another division consists of thalwallahs, who fling their brass rice-plates in a horizontal way at the enemy, which does great execution. Again, another division consists of rolawallahs, who receive the enemy with whole and broken well-burned earthen pots. The Bengal women do at times great execution with this weapon. One afternoon the planter's

lattials fled in confusion, when they saw the Solo women march out thus armed. Again, another division have to play the lattee. And the fiercest division is the company of judhishtheer, as they called it, who are the so-called shorke-wallahs or spearmen. This company consists only of twelve men, but considering that at one time one good marksman, who had the spears reached to him by others, chased one hundred lattials, their number though numerically small is still formidable. And these are the men that the lattials fear most, and frightened by them, they have not yet ventured on an attack.

Now I ask you, is this not a sad state of things? And who will have to answer for the consequences? The missionaries or Mr. Furlong with his co-labourers and the Magistrates? I could write a good deal more of what the above young men told me, but the dawak moonshee is waiting for me.

Believe me, dear Sir,  
Yours faithfully,  
C. BOMWETSCH.

*Ranaghat, in Camp, 25th January, 1860.*

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[The following is a truthful and vivid portray of "both sides of the (Indigo) Question," and notwithstanding the facetious humour in which it has been conceived and certain personal allusions contained in it, it will enable the reader to better form his opinion on the subject than mere one-sided statements.—*Compiler.*]

**BOTH SIDES OF THE QUESTION.**—Having received information of the highly inflammatory and incendiary conversation which has of late prevailed at the Bengal Club, and of conspiracies and plottings amongst turbulent Anglo-Saxons, which if unchecked will result in insurrection



and anarchy, we have employed a Ferazee kidmutgar, of that refuge for the destitute, to act as special correspondent at what may now be fairly called the seat of War. Between our own correspondent and the *Englishman's* special mendacity-monger at Kishnaghur, the public will be placed *au fait* with both sides of the question. Through the intelligence, ability, and assiduity of our black Mr. Russell, we are enabled to lay before our readers a conversation that lately took place there.

*Time—Tuesday, the 6th March, 11 A. M.—Place, Bengal Club.*

*A very Cool Civilian sipping iced water.*

*To him a huge "starved-out Indigo planter," flushed and panting, and looking uncommonly like a hot hind-quarter of Elephant.*

*Cool Civilian.*—Hullo ! Vats, you look hot and excited, and I do not see that amiable smile for which you are so celebrated. What's the matter ? Where have you been ?

*Representative Indigo Planter.*—Hot ! excited ! been ! how can you ask ? Why, to our Association of course.

*C. C.*—Ass, how much ?

*R. I. P.*—The Planters' Association ; what other Association could I go to ?

*C. C.*—Oh ! I see, but I thought that the Association was poor Theobald ; and that upon his being muzzled with a Supreme Court appointment and a regularly paid salary, the Association had vanished into the thinnest and most rarified air.

*R. I. P.*—Oh ! no, you are altogether wrong ; we have started again afresh. We are going to call ourselves the Agricultural and Commercial Association.

*C. C.*—What a taking name ! but you are surely not going in for rice and tobacco, either wholesale, retail, or for exportation— are you ?

Why do you call yourselves the agri-commerci-cum-indigo Association, or whatever it is ?

*R. I. P.*—How green you Civilians are. No, why should we go in for rice or any thing but indigo ; the name is a dodge : we want to enjoy the luxury of a paid agitator ; a particular friend of ours, moreover, wants a comfortable little berth, as he cannot, from circumstances over which he has no control, poor fellow, rejoin his old appointment at little Pedlington ; but at the same time we cannot afford to pay a Secretary, as Theobald will tell you ; so we have stuck in the “Agricultural” to try and get hold of a few zemindars to help pay for our agitator, and the “Commercial,” as a matter of course, to nobble Wilson.

*C. C.*—Capital ! but does it not strike you that the zemindars could no more combine with you than oil with water ? You will have a split in a week.

*R. I. P.*—Oh ! that’s all right ; we do not want the zemindars, but their money ; we get a year’s subscription in advance, and the niggers may then go to the——dogs.

*C. C.*—The plan does credit to your head and heart. It is as ingenious as it is ingenuous (*wise*—but very little of either). Who is this paragon of a Secretary you have got ? Is Dickens coming out ?

*R. I. P.*—No, we have got Forbes, late of the *Dacca News* and the Dacca Bank.

*C. C.*—Oh ! and late of the Colonization Committee and of—— !

*R. I. P.*—Stop ! Stop ! that’s enough ; the identity is fully established. He is just the man for us in these difficult times : we want a fellow capable of asserting our claims in a powerful manner, and with brass enough to stick up for us against all our enemies, who are becoming rather numerous.

*C. C.*—Well, if rash and unscrupulous assertion, and the boldest assurance—to express myself mildly—is what you want—and it is difficult to

conceive what else you can want—why, I agree with you he is just the very man for you, as his evidence before the Colonization Committee will vouch.

*R. I. P.*—Come, you need not rake up the past. He went home to give evidence, and you do not suppose he was going to take the trouble for nothing ; after all he was not worse than Wise, our President.

*C. C.*—Possibly not, but—well, never mind—what have you been doing to-day at your Association ?

*R. I. P.*—Doing, why we have settled John Peter's hash for him.

*C. C.*—John who ? Oh ! I understand, you mean the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

*R. I. P.*—Yes, if you like to call him so, but he won't be that much longer ; wait till Wilson sees our petition.

*C. C.*—Indeed ! what's it about ? You surely have not been committing yourselves on paper regarding this awful rising of the ryots, said to be all owing to a letter of the Lieutenant-Governor's ?

*R. I. P.*—Of course we have ; why, all Bengal is in a state of insurrection—factories burnt down, drums beat, a planter's assistant left for dead on the field, &c.

*C. C.*—Who tells you this ? I believe it to be all false.

*R. I. P.*—Have you not seen it in the *Englishman* positively asserted ?

*C. C.*—Yes, of course, I have.

*R. I. P.*—Well, is that not sufficient evidence of its truth ?

*C. C.*—To speak plainly, I could desire no more convincing evidence of its falseness.

*R. I. P.*—Well, Forbes, our Secretary, says, he believes it.

*C. C.*—And do you believe Forbes ?

*R. I. P.*—Of course I do, generally.

*C. C.*—If that's the case, we will say no more about it. By the bye, what was the planter's assistant doing on the field upon which he was left for dead ? Is it not true that he went with a body of armed lattials to mark out, for indigo sowing, fields of certain ryots who warned him off quietly and respectfully, but who, on the planter's assistant trying to thresh them into compliance, turned the tables and threshed him ?

*R. I. P.*—Well, I did hear something of this sort.

*C. C.*—Do you attribute that to the Lieut.-Governor's letter ? And did you never hear of such things in the time of your old friend Halliday ?

*R. I. P.*—Yes, little accidents sometimes happened. I can't exactly say how that particular case is connected with Grant's letter, but I know very well that in Halliday's time we should very soon have taught the black scoundrels that they had no right to interfere with the development of the resources of the country. Now we are afraid to touch the brutes ; we should have that villainous nigger Press pitching into us, and the Magistrates moreover are now afraid to let us off, and walk it into the ryots as they used to do, or they would have Grant pitching into them with some of his ridiculous theories of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

*C. C.*—Well, so much for the dead assistant : the simple fact is, he went to wallop his niggers, and his niggers walloped him. Now what should you do if a lot of natives—or Europeans for the matter of that—were to come and cut holes in your garden and measure it, and on being asked what they wanted, say they were going to sow flax in it ?

*R. I. P.*—Do ! why, break their heads of course ; what else could I do ?

*C. C.*—Well, then, what else could the ryots do under the same circumstances? They have as much right to defend their property from intruders as you have.

*R. I. P.*—What humbug! Black devils! What right have they to talk of their property? You know what Sir C. Jackson says of such cant. Why, when we were Honorary Magistrates in Halliday's time—

*C. C.*—Steady! We will come to that presently. Now as to the drum-beating, did ryots never beat drums before Grant ascended the guddle? and has any body been hurt by the drums?

*R. I. P.*—Of course they can beat drums if they like, but they did it to chaff the planters—a regular case of insurrection.

*C. C.*—Oh! this is what you mean by insurrection, now I understand. The ryots chaff you, and that is all that this row is about.

*R. I. P.*—And bad enough too: the planters are said to be sending their families away from the districts.

*C. C.*—The *Englishman* says so, and perhaps your Secretary, Mr. Forbes, says so; but it by no means follows that it is true: however, it is quite possible that the planters may be in a fright; they are apt to get alarmed whenever their ryots show a spirit of independence. I always supposed that guilty consciences had a good deal to do with this feeling; they must know that if they ever do drive the ryots into active opposition, the reckoning will be a heavy one.

*R. I. P.*—Well, I give up the demi-moribund assistant and the drums; but how about that row at Ourangabad, where the ryots drove a planter and the Police out of the field, and threatened to drive the British out of India, and said it was "Company ka hukum?" That clearly can be traced to Grant's letter.

*C. C.*—Why, before I answer this, first tell me how you suppose that the ryots at Ourungabad ever heard of Grant's letter; next tell me

how you reconcile the fact of the ryots opposing the Police and threatening to drive the British out of India, with the assertion that they said it was by "Company ka hukum;" and then answer me whether you do not know as well as I can tell you, that the row at Ourungabad arose immediately, directly, and solely from a gross outrage committed upon the villagers by the planters' people.

*R. I. P.*—Well, I know the *Englishman* even did admit something about the row having arisen on account of oppression; but the ryots would not have dared to show fight if Government had not patted them on the back: and as to their opposing the Police, and saying it was by order of Government, why, these pig-headed brutes are inconsistent sometimes.

*C. C.*—So are other people.

*R. I. P.*—Well, we all know that the Government letter was published in a garbled form by the Magistrate of Baraset, and of course found its way to Moorsshedabad.

*C. C.*—How was it published? When? and where?

*R. I. P.*—Oh! I do not know all these details; ask Forbes and Mackenzie; they say it was, and that's enough for me.

*C. C.*—But not for me.

*R. I. P.*—Well, extracts taken from the Government letter which were adverse to the planters were put by the Magistrate in a Circular, and sent to every thannah in Bengal. All the first part of the letter which was in the planters' favour was burked.

*C. C.*—Are you sure of this? I do not understand how a Magistrate could send a Circular to other districts; and have you moreover seen the letter? or how do you know that the portions omitted were in favour of the planters' case?

*R. I. P.*—I can't say for certain that the letter was circulated, and do not know what the omitted paragraphs of the letter contained ; but the daily papers say that they were in favour of the planters ; and the *Englishman* on Wednesday published a perwannah, issued to a thannah called Kalarooah, somewhere up in Rajshahye I fancy, alluding to this Circular from the Baraset Magistrate ; so it must be so. Besides, why should these paragraphs be omitted if they were not opposed to the Magistrate's views ? Of course they must have been wiggling him, and he did not like the people to know this.

*C. C.*—I see you planters judge others by yourselves, but I should like to know more of this alleged circulation and garbling. What was the letter ? I see a letter from a Nuddea planter in Tuesday's *Englishman*, who says that the Nuddea ryots were all quiet until a letter was received by the Nuddea Commissioner, in connection with that abominable kidnapping case in which Mr. White is said to have been concerned. Now what I want to know is, how it happened that a letter connected with factories on the other side of Kishnaghur came to be sent to the Magistrate of Baraset, and what could he have to do with the matter ?

*R. I. P.*—I do not know ; there would certainly appear to be some slight confusion here. I believe that there were two letters, and the one alluded to by the Nuddea planter is not the one circulated by the Magistrate of Baraset.

*C. C.*—Well, the Nuddea planter ought to know best what it is that put his ryots up, if indeed anything did, but their own interests ; and therefore it is very clear that it was not in consequence of anything done by the Magistrate of Baraset that this assertion of independence on the part of the ryots has taken place.

*R. I. P.*—Well, it is all the same ; it is by some orders of Government, never mind where or by whom they were issued.

*C. C.*—But it is necessary to proceed step by step. I want to find out the truth. What were the obnoxious orders in the Baraset case ?

*R. I. P.*—As far as I could understand from the papers put before us at our meeting, certain ryots petitioned before the Magistrate to protect them against a planter, who they alleged was about to sow their lands against their will with indigo. The Magistrate, instead of telling them, like any good fellow would have done, to go to h—l and sow indigo, told the Police, that if the lands were in the undisputed possession of these men, that they were to render them assistance in the event of the planter coming to sow their fields forcibly with any crop of his own. We would not stand this, and appealed to the Commissioner, and he cancelled the Magistrate's orders, and said that where the planter asserted that the ryots were under advances, he had a right to sow their land, and the Police were to be prohibited from aiding the ryots in the event of the planter sending to sow the lands through his servants. The Commissioner's orders were sent to the Police, and some correspondence appears to have taken place as to the correct view of the law on this subject, and the case went up to Government. The Lieutenant-Governor commented upon the case in the most inflammatory manner, and said the ryots had a right to sow what crop they liked on their own land, and that a mere *ex parte* allegation of an advance or contract did not give the planter any right to enter on the ryot's land; that a contract was a civil proceeding altogether, and that a Magistrate had nothing to do with an enquiry as to how far the alleged contract was *bonâ fide*, or how far it had been fulfilled or not by either party, and that the Civil Court was the only Court competent to entertain such questions, and that therefore the ryots were not to be ousted from their lands by the planters' servants on any such plea.

*C. U.*—There is nothing very new in that; that was the law of the land before the Lieutenant-Governor was born. Have you nothing worse than that to complain of? Why, your friend Halliday himself issued orders more unfavourable to the planters than that before he left; he actually went the length of saying that ryots were not to be compelled to enter into contracts against their will.

*R. I. P.*—Yes, but he did not *mean* it; he would have issued orders the very contrary, if he had only staid another month: he was forced by circumstances into the expression of an opinion of that sort.



*C. C.*—Well, I admit he had a playful way of always turning up on the winning side, and that he did gain a very precarious subsistence on a diet of his own words ; but you see he did *not* remain that extra month, and did *not* cancel his orders ; so is it not possible that after all the first blow came from your own idol ? But to return to the obnoxious letter—what became of it ?

*R. I. P.*—Why, as I said before, it was published by the Civilian Magistrate, who had a dislike to us.

*C. C.*—Dislike to you ! I see the *Englishman* says the same, but to which of you ? Do you know him ?

*R. I. P.*—No, I don't, but it is a general Civilian jealousy of us, not a personal dislike.

*C. C.*—Jealousy ! of what, pray ? What have you that Civilians have not ? According to your own accounts, you are the most miserable of beings. What do you mean that there is to be jealous of ?

*R. I. P.*—Don't cross-examine one so ; I am not in the witness-box. Well, to return to the letter : the Magistrate sent extracts of it to a Deputy Magistrate up in the other end of Bengal, Kalarooah.

*C. C.*—Indeed ! that was extraordinary certainly : let's have a look at the map ; why it is in Baraset. This Deputy must have been the Magistrate's own subordinate. Are you sure that the land which gave rise to the dispute was not in this Deputy's jurisdiction ?

*R. I. P.*—I am sure I do not know. What difference does it make ?

*C. C.*—Simply this, that if it is, the Magistrate would grossly have neglected his duty if he had not sent a copy of the orders in the case to him. You say that a copy of the Commissioner's orders in favour of the planters was sent, and you raise no objection to that because it was to the advantage of your class. What do you mean that the Magistrate

should have hidden the Government orders, or buried, or burnt them, and have allowed the Police to continue acting upon the order of the Commissioner? You surely don't think this would have been exactly fair to the ryots?

*R. I. P.*—Why not? You must not look at indigo cases as you do at other cases; recollect the good we do in clearing down jungle, building schools, hospitals, &c.

*C. C.*—Come, come, don't try that dodge with me. I am not a *Times* correspondent, and know as well as you do that a planter never cut down an acre of jungle in his life; and as to the hospitals and schools, eh! old fellow, don't provoke me into exposing such humbug. So it seems after all that this infamous circulation is confined to the letter having been sent by the Magistrate to one of his subordinates immediately connected with the case. However, one more question before we have done with the Magistrate. I see your respectable organ, the *Englishman*, says, that the ryots throughout Bengal have risen against the planters and against their own interests "*to please a young civilian* who has a dislike against the planters." Now does it not speak volumes in favour of these "turbulent" men, that they should so good-naturedly sacrifice their interests to please a man whose name even they can never have heard of? Again, we have lately seen that there are other young civilians who have shown a very decided preference for the planters. How are these amiable cultivators to divide their allegiance in this case?

*R. I. P.*—Oh! don't go on harping on these things. The factories are being shut up, and we must say something. We can't spare time to reconcile all these details, that's Forbes' work. •

*C. C.*—In fact, you admit the whole story to be trumped up, a mere bit of spite against an official who has been rash enough to ignore the right of the white man to trample on his black brother. Now for the Lieutenant-Governor. What is his crime? He says, you say, that the planters have no right forcibly to sow the lands of the Bengalee cultivator with a crop to which that cultivator objects. Do you mean to say he has?

*R. I. P.*—Why, of course he has ; what else do we spend such a lot of money in izharas, putnees, talooks, &c., for, if it does not give us a right to make our tenants sow what we like ?

*C. C.*—If you choose to spend money under the impression that it gives you a right, it does not necessarily follow that you actually obtain that right. Let's have a look at the law. Well now, does it give you any right, even of the most remote description, to interfere with the cultivation of the ryots ? Is not their tenure more secure and definite even than your own ?

*R. I. P.*—Well, perhaps, abstractedly we have no right ; but Theobald preached the doctrine long since, that we should not look at the question abstractedly ; it is for the good of the country, of the ryots, and ourselves that we should exercise this interference.

*C. C.*—Granted that you benefit yourselves, but how do you benefit the country or the ryots ?

*R. I. P.*—Look at the capital we bring into the country and spend amongst the ryots.

*C. C.*—Look where ? I should like to see it : look at the capital you take out.

*R. I. P.*—Never mind where the money comes from. I know a factory where the expenditure last year was three lakhs of rupees. Do you mean to say that that did not benefit the ryots ?

*C. C.*—Perhaps if they had it all it might do them some good, yet not so much as the free use of their own land would do ; but you know as well as I do, that not above Rupees 40,000 of that sum found its way into the hands of the actual cultivators. Managers with their twelve or fourteen horses, their shikar parties, open house, assistants innumerable, assistants' horses still more innumerable, saddlery, boats, houses, &c. their factory servants, Court expenses (of course not bribery or perjury), affrays, swindling—come,—admit, very little of it goes to the ryots.

*R. I. P.*—Well, perhaps, not so much as ought to go there, but it is the system.

*C. C.*—Exactly ; more's the pity, and hence the present row, which is attributable solely and wholly to your system, and not inflammatory Lieut.-Governors or firebrand Magistrates. Now I hold in my hand a careful calculation of the actual produce of 2 beegahs of land in the same village ; one sown with indigo gives a crop of 15 bundles, equal in value to Rs. 3 ; and this you will admit was a very good crop. The cost of cultivating that beegah and incidental expenses connected therewith, seed, stamp paper, ameen's and khalassee's dustoorree, ploughing, weeding, and rent, was Rs. 6: the ryot therefore lost three rupees on the crop. The other beegah was sown with oujdhan first and then with peas ; the crops gave 11-8, the expense of cultivation and rent came to 3-4 : so you see that the ryot lost 3 rupees out of hand for his indigo, and 8-4, which he would have got if he had been allowed to sow it with what he liked—total loss by indigo, 11-4. Does it not strike you that this has more to do with the present position of the ryots toward the planters than any letters, affection for young Civilians, or anything else ? You see that where there is a cultivation of 30,000 beegahs in one estate, and a loss of 11 rupees 4 annas on each beegah, it can hardly be said that you do much to benefit the country.

*R. I. P.*—Well, perhaps, it is not altogether profitable, but England must have indigo, and we cannot afford to pay higher : after all we only do precisely what Government does with the opium, and Government takes especial care to protect itself by summary laws from defaulting cultivators.

*C. C.*—I beg your pardon. The cultivators are in no way similar ; opium is an article of excise, and its cultivation must be guarded by special laws : it is, however, altogether a ready-money transaction. Government has no outstanding balances of 20 years old to hold *in terrorem* over the head of a ryot who won't sow.

*R. I. P.*—No, because they recover all the balances by a summary process.

*C. C.*—Mistaken as usual. The summary law no longer exists, and has never once been put in force against a single cultivator since its first enactment. It was virtually made of no effect by Act X. of 1859. Government makes it for the interest of the cultivator to fulfil his engagements, and, consequently, no summary process is required, and balances are never outstanding.

*R. I. P.*—How does Government excite the interest of this most apathetic, lazy, good-for-nothing, dishonest, hooka-smoking animal to that extent? Why, the ryots of the most popular planters do not sow willingly.

*C. C.*—By offering them a price for their crop, which will give them two or three rupees more than the most profitable ordinary crop that they could grow would give. Government found that during the last two years, on account of the increased value of other crops, the cultivators would not sow poppy. What was done? The agents did not sit down and tear their hair, abuse the law which prevented their taking the lands of the cultivators by force, but they represented to Government that the price of all other commodities having risen, the only way of keeping up the opium provision was by increasing the price paid to the cultivators. The necessity for doing this was so evident, that the price was at once increased from Rs. 3-4 to 3-8 per seer, and either has been or will be increased to Rs. 3-12 or 4. Now this advance of eight annas per seer is equal to Rs. 3 per beegah; and if you planters, instead of attributing the unwillingness of the ryots to sow to causes which cannot but render you ridiculous in the eyes of the thinking public, will advance your price to such an extent as will give the ryot a profit of at least Rs. 6 per beegah, instead of a loss of Rs. 3, you will find that your difficulties are at an end; the Lieutenant-Governor and all his Magistrates may write, say, or do what they like, and they will not decrease your cultivation by a single bundle. Before you compare indigo to opium, you must recollect that the opium ryot clears Rs. 22-8 ans. per beegah by his crop; the indigo ryot loses Rs. 3. The opium ryot has his account closed within a week of the delivery of his crop, and the money is paid directly to him by an European gentleman; the

indigo ryot never gets paid at all, but has his accounts adjusted by a corrupt dewan or mohurrir six months after he has given in his produce, and care is always taken to bring him out in debt to the factory.

*R. I. P.*—This is all very well, but we cannot afford to pay more. England must have indigo ; the Queen's speech distinctly alludes to it ; and Wilson says it must be encouraged. There is no help for it, the ryots must be made to sow at our price.

*C. C.*—Did Wilson really say that ?

*R. I. P.*—Not exactly, but he said that he would not put any extra Export Duty on indigo, and even felt inclined to take off the Duty that was now on it.

*C. C.*—But surely there is some difference between legitimately encouraging a great staple like indigo by taking off an Export Duty, and illegitimately forcing it by allowing the traders therein to trespass on the rights of others. Did Wilson really say that he was an advocate for this latter process ?

*R. I. P.*—Why, some of our fellows went to him, and left him with the idea that he entirely coincided in their views.

*C. C.*—Oh ! is that all ? . It is an extraordinary fact that fifty men of fifty different parties, advocating fifty measures all diametrically opposite, have had interviews with that gentleman, and have all come away with a most decided impression that they had convinced him fully of the justness of their own views. I will tell you some anecdotes on this subject another time. It seems to be a peculiarity of the great Financier to let his visitors go away with this impression, and leave them to find out their mistake at leisure.

*R. I. P.*—As I said before, England must have indigo, and can't afford to pay more for it. No change is possible.

C. C.—I am afraid that England must either pay for indigo or go without. If she really wants it, and can't get it elsewhere, she can afford to pay for it, and must pay for it at the market price. If she will not do this, we may very safely infer that she can either do without it, or get it elsewhere where it can be produced cheaper. It is no fault of the Lieutenant-Governor that the system has abruptly come to an end, but it is a disgrace to Government that it was ever allowed to exist at all. We must knock this system on the head, give you a Black Act, and then you will learn to live peaceably and honestly, and, what is more, let others do the same. In the meantime you had better go and destroy your absurd petition, and learn in future to stick to facts. You may as well eat Mr. Forbes' Draft, as otherwise you will have to eat your own words as sure as you stand there. Now as you look shut up, we will adjourn for the present.

*Exit Cool Civilian, Hot Planter calls for a peg, and feels as small as his physique will permit.—Indian Field, March 10, 1860.*

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## NUDDEA PLANTERS.

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*To the Editor of "The Indian Field."*

DEAR SIR,—Some hundred villagers have complained to Magistrates and Deputy Magistrates of the outrages committed on them by the planters, and have implored for protection; but all have been sent away, their complaints have been disregarded as not worth while listening to. One of my informants told me, that Mr. Sibbald, of Nondonpore, comforted his downcast brothers, saying they did not know how to subdue these Bengalees, and that he would show them how to do it. Accordingly, he and another planter set out (at the beginning of January of this year) with a multitude of lattials and spearsmen, drummers (I forbear giving numbers, as I cannot persuade myself to believe in them, for it borders almost on fabulousness), and came to the village of Balioora. After a short display there, and after throwing down a number of Rupees to the lattials and drummers, the procession went through the neighbouring villages of Bhiterparah and Toronipoor, and thence to

the neighbouring village of Meliapoota, the inhabitants of which have, to a great degree, gone along with the people of Pathorghata and Gobindopore. An extraordinary display, therefore, was necessary here. Under the great tree, before the village, the company halted, and had dancing and drumming for about two hours. The display was a great one, for the number of lattials and other adherents of the planters had in the mean time greatly increased. And, besides the two Sahibs on horseback, there were other horsemen (Dewans and Naibs of several factories had joined the company). Hence they proceeded to Phoolparree, an out-factory of Harra. Here the select ones of the company got a splendid dinner (country grog even was provided), and the rest of them got a tiffin (phalar). The same night, or the next morning before day-break, the lattials had to attack the adjoined stubborn villages of Pathorghata and Gobindopore. When the people of these two villages heard of it, one amongst them went on horseback to Shutti, close to Phoolparree, in order to ascertain how many lattials were there collected; and after he had learnt that 5,000 (say one 1,000, or cut even one cipher) lattials were ready to attack their village, he rode back to Pathorghata, and advised the people to flee with their wives and children. But the men of the village insisted on remaining and offering the fiercest resistance, saying they were determined to kill at least half of them in the streets of their village. The lattials, hearing of their determination, refused to make an attack. The darogah also (who first wanted to flee, but the people prevented his doing so), I was told, wrote or sent a message to the planters, saying, if they wished to stick up a bamboo, some five or six men should come over for the purpose, but a host of lattials was not necessary. If a fight were to take place, he would be in a very awkward position. Thus the original plan was abandoned, and the following morning the procession went on to Karipara, where nothing happened (except that a bamboo was stuck up and a demonstration of power made by the drummers, &c.), for many of the people had fled away. But on their way back to Birpore, a stand-up fight took place between the villagers and the lattials in the presence of the Saheb or Sahebs. The lattials, however, had to flee in all directions, as the hard bale-fruit and the hard clots reached farther than the spears. They were as numerous as the leaves of Vallombrosa. Nevertheless, the



expedition was to many villages a powerful demonstration that the planters are the supreme and irresponsible governors of the country; the people were cowed thereby into subjection.

Still, as mentioned above, many new villages continue to complain, but are not listened to by the Magistrate, *but required to bring witnesses of the truth of their complaint. Fancy hundreds of villages, and thousands and thousands of people, not knowing each other, and still complaining of one and the same thing, and considering that each village can only complain and witness their own sufferings, i. e. the people are sufferers, plaintiffs, and witnesses in one, and have got no other out-of-door witness except their oppressors, the planters and the missionaries, who are too malicious to be heard! Fancy all these people are sent home, back into their oppressors' hands, on the plea of having got no witness !!! Has ever any nation on earth been plagued with these people?*

The most unfortunate of the villages are Pathorghata and Gobindopore. It is now nearly half a year since they are running about seeking for protection. Hundreds of lattials are in constant readiness to attack their villages. Outrages are also committed, cows taken away, &c. Some five or six of the people have been kidnapped months ago, and can on no account be recovered; nor are we sure whether they are alive at all. The people of the villages are never for one moment sure of their lives and property.

The Magistrate ever turned a deaf ear unto them, until at last the planters caught the people in a trap, and gave the Magistrate a plea to sentence the first people of the villages to imprisonment, or a heavy fine (the particulars I will give another time, for, malicious as I am, I know them exactly from disinterested parties). Now the planters have got a fresh handle. They have convinced the Magistrate that they are a dreadful set of blood-thirsty savages. Now false complaints are instituted against them, as if they were about to loot the villages of Howlia and Natna for having given in to the planters; and soon you will hear that they will complain of them of having actually looted it,

while on the self-same day the planters' lattials will loot Pathorghata and Gobindopore, and when the people complain to the Magistrate, their complaint will appear a false counter-complaint against the planter, and the wise Magistrate will tell them, "Ah! you won't catch me!" and afresh sentence them to imprisonment or heavy fine, for these are the planters' ways.

*And Magistrates know it as well as I do; and still they allow planters to deceive them again. I at least hope with the good "Saxon," it is want of capacity and not of justice. When, some months ago, I admonished a planter, before a European Government officer, and related some instances of oppression and intrigue practised by the planters, within my own personal knowledge, "Oh! that's nothing at all," he said; "I will tell you an instance where the Magistrate was bought out and out." He said there was a planter who wanted to loot a certain village, because the people would not enter into a contract with him; he therefore had his own house looted by his own people, and some of his own people slightly speared by his own people, and sent in all haste for the Magistrate to witness himself what the savages of the village had done. In no time the Magistrate was present, condoling with his friend's great misfortune, and a complaint in writing was sent to the Magistrate. No sooner had the Magistrate gone again, than the planters' lattials, all in readiness, went and looted the refractory village out and out. The poor people, who did not know what had happened at the factory, and that the Magistrate had been there, the following day lodged a complaint before the Magistrate against the planter for looting their village, and the Magistrate told them, "Ah! you won't catch me!" He was quite sure their complaint was a false cross-action. So it has happened to the Pathorghata and Gobindopore people, and shortly will happen again. I also hear that the planters have even succeeded in frightening into subjection the people of Howlia, on whose account I had gone to the Commissioner, that they are now prepared to proceed into the station to lay a complaint before the Magistrate, drawn up by the planters, against me. But if they will play such a dirty trick to me, I will make them go through evidence. First they tried to frighten me by public abuse, and then by complaining to my Society and the bishop,*

little knowing what a "crazed enthusiast" like myself can do! both without a society and a surplice, but not without mercy and judgment. And now intrigues are tried, as if that were sufficient to frighten or dishearten me! O no! Mr. Furlong must know *I am far more than a mere "enthusiast."* I am ready to go to prison, for such a good cause like this, as history shows, has never been accomplished, except it was stained by the blood of God's servants. The slaves of the West Indies have not been emancipated, until not only one but several missionaries had been maltreated and imprisoned. Who, acquainted with that affair, does not remember the history of Mr. Burchell? While writing this I receive two letters from the interior, saying that the district about Pathorghata, Gobindopore, Solo, and Pootimaree are in a state of perfect anarchy, but I have already been too long and my time is up, so no more for this time. Once more I beg you will kindly insert my letter in your next issue.

Yours faithfully,

C. BOMWETSCH.

*Ranaghat, in Camp, 15th February, 1860.*

"THE MUTINY" AT OURUNGABAD.—When the planters found that the ryots of Bengal were determined not to take advances or enter into contracts for the cultivation of Indigo until a remunerative price was offered, the policy which they marked out for themselves was, by means of mendacious assertions and false rumours of disturbances, to frighten the Government into giving some order which they could garble into an expression of the desire of Government, that the old short-sighted policy of sacrificing justice to expediency should continue. One of the first falsehoods which their organ published was, that, in consequence of an order given to his Police by a Deputy Magistrate living at a distance of 200 miles from the scene of the alleged occurrence, the ryots of Ourungabad had risen *en masse*, and driven the planters out of the country, calling out that they were, in accordance with the orders of Government, about to drive the English out of India. The malicious falseness of the statement was self-evident, and we at once contradicted it, assuring our

readers that whatever had happened had been the immediate and direct consequence of gross oppression, and nothing else. We are now, through the kindness of a friend, in the correctness of whose statement we can fully rely, in a position to give our readers a full and true account of what actually happened, from which it will be seen that the orders of Government had nothing whatever to do with the matter. We are further assured by a gentleman residing within a few miles of the scene of this disturbance, that no orders of Government have ever been heard of in that neighbourhood.

It would appear that for a long time past the ryots on the Estate of Mr. David Andrews, a non-resident owner of Indigo Factories, had been most grievously oppressed by a Mahomedan Gomashta, named Meer Tuffuzzul Hossein of Shabghatty ; they have been compelled to sow Indigo on fictitious advances ; they did not make any resistance to that, believing it to be their lot in common with all their other brother ryots of Bengal : next, the lands which they had sown with other crops were ploughed up and sown with Indigo ; then the very paths to their houses and their gardens were ploughed up with Indigo : even this they bore. Taking courage at their patience, their oppressors proceeded to levy a tax on their bullocks, ploughs, and carts ; and on every ceremony performed in their houses, if a sufficient wedding-fee was not forthcoming, the newly-married brides were forced out on to the plain and made to weed the Indigo fields. At last the proverbial patience of the Bengal ryots would stand it no longer ; they went and complained to Mr. Rice, the Manager at Kalapanee Factory. He replied that he highly commended the proceedings of his gomashta. They next appealed to Mr. Macleod, the Head Mofussil Manager of the Concern, and a gentleman generally known to be as kind and considerate as the occupation of Indigo planting will permit. He, instead of calling in the Police to inquire into these charges proceeded himself to hold an inquiry, took the deposition of the complainants, and suspended the gomashta. Before, however, finishing his inquiries, he had to come down to Calcutta, and before going re-instated the Meer Sahib, the ruffianly gomashta being left with no one to check him, but Mr. Rice, who had before told the ryots that he approved of the manner in which they were oppressed, at once

commenced his tyranny and extortion with re-doubled vigour, determined to retaliate upon the unfortunate ryots for his late suspension. The ryots despairing of obtaining justice, rose as a body, and determined to rid themselves of their tyrant or die in the attempt. They collected to the number of 5,000, proceeded to the factory of Ankorreah, and gave the gomashtha, Tuffuzzul Hossein, a most severe and exceedingly well-deserved thrashing. They proceeded to beat slightly some of the other factory servants, and then left without touching a single article belonging to the planter. They never cried "out with the English," and made no allusion even to orders of Government: their only cry was "out with the Indigo planter and Indigo leaf." The inquiry, which was immediately instituted, showed so clearly that the proceedings of the ryots were entirely the result of provocation, that the owner of the factories has at once compromised the case, not having a leg to stand on. Mr. Rice and Meer Tuffuzzul Hossein have been discharged from his employ; all the servants are to be replaced by a new set of men; the lands which they had sown with their own crops, and which were afterwards re-sown with Indigo, have been returned to the ryots for their own use; all money proved to be extorted is now being returned, and Mr. D. Andrews has instituted further and private inquiries as to the oppression which has goaded his ryots into active opposition. If these factories had belonged to the Bengal Indigo Company, the ryots would have been thrown into jail, the Manager would have had his salary increased, and the Commissioner and Magistrate would have gone to dine with the Manager, and have condoled him over the conduct of these "turbulent ruffians"; but fortunately for these men, the factories belonged to Mr. D. Andrews, and Mr. Macleod was his Manager, and hence in spite of all the attempts of the Indigo Planters' Association to endeavour to induce them to make a case of it, the ryots have received justice, and the fault of the factory servants has been admitted by a compromise.

. We have received information of a further outrage not 20 miles from Ourungabad, but not in connection with the Ourungabad Concern. Our information is received from a trustworthy source, but as the case is still *sub judice*, we do not at present give names. A man of the name of Juggobundoo Dutt, of the village of A., held his village in Dhur Putnee,

and as Dhur Putneedar granted an izara or farm of the village to a neighbouring planter, the planter had no sooner got the farm, than, after the usual custom of his race, he proceeded to commit every kind of oppression, and ultimately refused to pay any of the rent of his farm, &c. Juggobundoo, being unable to cope with the planter, granted a Se Putnee of the village to a neighbouring rajah, and got him to send him some men to protect him. Upon this the "developer of the material resources of the country" proceeded to fulfil his mission by sending 400 armed men to the village of A., who attacked Juggobundoo's house, ill-treated his female relatives, tearing their jewels and ornaments from their persons, dug up the floors and walls of the house, and carried off an enormous sum of money; and the unhappy Juggobundoo himself and some other men took them to the factory, and made his mehter offer them the grossest and most revolting insult which it is possible to imagine, and which we will not shock and disgust our readers with mentioning in detail. Juggobundoo was kept confined for some days, and then released on the sole condition that he would not prosecute. The case is, however, under enquiry, but the shame of Juggobundoo and the money of his adversary will, perhaps, save Mr. — from the imprisonment which he deserves. The enquiry has been grievously misconducted in its preliminary stage, and the culprit may escape; but the sensation which it has caused throughout the district will not subside for many a long day. Yet with outrages such as these constantly occurring, people are found to express astonishment at the hatred of the people to the planters as a body, and at the fear and dread which seize the planters on the slightest symptom of independence amongst their ryots.

If the Ourungabad disturbance was exaggerated, what shall we say of the Kishnaghur, Jessore, and Baraset "rapine, murder, plunder, and arson?" All the "burnt-down factories" resolve themselves into the partial burning of a small shed near the Khajorreah Factory. This burning down of out-houses by the planter to get up a case against his ryots is such a terribly stale dodge, that we are surprised at a planter in these days of refined fraud and perjury having recourse to such an exceedingly coarse and clumsy expedient. The thing was so transparent, that we before stated our belief that the planters' own people would prove

to be the incendiaries, and we now have it reported officially, not by a prejudiced Magistrate, but by the official whom least of all the Nuddea planters could charge with prejudice against them—we mean the Commissioner of Nuddea. The bands of lattials roaming through the country, of whom even the *Friend* of Serampore is in a fright, are equally mythical. The ryots won't take advances, hence they are "mutinous." In Kishnaghur the ryots beat drums, and caused the hearts of their oppressors to palpitate. In Jessore they laughed at the naibs and chaffed the ameens. In Baraset they moved neither hand nor foot, but simply withdrew their ambassadors from the planters' Court,—*hinc illæ lachrymæ*. If the ryots *did* gather together, it was for self-defence from the attacks of the planters, an apprehension which Mr. Grote believes to be groundless, but of which we are not so sure, judging from the course which the *Hurkaru* reminds his friends to pursue.

The beating of the "respectable young men" in the employ of the respectable Bengal Indigo Company was a fact, and Mr. Grote says it was "unwarrantable and bold." Bold it was doubtless, as the ryots must have known that, whether they were acting purely in self-defence or not, they were, in virtue of their position as residents of the Nuddea district, certain of six months' imprisonment according to the bye-laws of the zillah: whether it was unwarrantable in the ryots to prevent a stranger accompanied by 25 hired ruffians from entering upon their fields to take possession thereof is another matter, about which there appear to be two very different opinions. However, the planters have gained two important concessions,—they have got the Commissioner to lend them police peons to help to sow the Indigo, and they have got Government to issue an order—which is vague enough—to afford the planters an opening for converting it into an order to the ryots to sow under penalty of imprisonment. If the ryots follow our advice, they will be magnanimous and sow this year; next year their course is clear, not to go near the factories until they are offered the price they demand. They have got the Government order, "THAT IT IS OPTIONAL WITH RYOTS TO TAKE ADVANCES, AND TO ENTER INTO CONTRACTS FOR INDIGO, OR NOT TO DO SO, AS THEY MAY THINK BEST FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

They have now their Magna Charter as well as the planters ; they can afford this year to be generous, and to return good for evil to the wretched cowards who tremble at the sound of a tom-tom in the hands of those ryots to whom they have so long, according to their own account, stood *in loco parentis*.—*Indian Field*, March 17, 1860.

**THE INDIGO AFFAIR.**—It appears that a great deal more noise has been made and alarm excited by the first reports of the Kishnaghur riots, than facts now elicited would justify. Beyond a few bruises on the persons of a couple of Indigo assistants, who were personally engaged in an affray, no serious accidents have taken place to warrant the language of a contemporary a few days ago. It has, moreover, been suggested, if not broadly asserted, that these gentlemen got so roughly used in the execution of an unlawful purpose, and should be thankful for coming in for nothing worse. Whatever the particulars of the affair—of which we hope shortly to be better informed through the efforts of the parties principally concerned—we have to congratulate them on the prompt attention which their representations have received from the authorities, and the equally prompt manner in which they have been acted. To Mr. Herschel is due the credit of having visited the leading rioters with decisive punishment, and of having dealt effectually with a movement which, although of no serious aspect at first, might, if not checked by summary measures at the very outset, have disorganized the whole country. In the interests of order so seriously threatened, no application of force could be too early; and however we might have felt on the score of humanity on the exercise of severities among a population ordinarily so well disposed, it would have been our duty to uphold the measures of Government for the restoration of tranquillity. It is, accordingly, a relief to our minds, that Mr. Herschel was not put to the necessity of calling out the Military Police, as he threatened the villagers in one of his proclamations.

We would take the opportunity of urging that it is as well to accept these risings as signs of the times. It is not usual for a population anywhere to assume a hostile attitude towards those regarding whom their



feelings of respect and submission are habitual and traditionary, unless they are under strong and long continued inducements to the contrary; and the thing is almost impossible in the Bengal ryot, so born as he seems to slavery and its heritages. Those to whom the charge is given might now seriously think of measures to improve his condition, his material prosperity, as the means of ameliorating his social position. Notwithstanding all that has been asserted of his sloth, his dishonesty, and general bad character, we can conceive him more easily led to his interests by practical efforts to do him good, to render him happy and contented with his lot, (not a very enviable one among other peasantries in the world,) than the invariable resort to the *punchum-huftum*. We have, therefore, noticed with pleasure, that at a meeting of some of the leading planters in the Nuddea district, held the other day at Shikarpore, the subject of re-considering the rates of advances for the cultivation of Indigo, with reference to the high prices of food and wages of labour, was mooted. Some such concessions will be extremely popular at the present moment, with the advantage of being highly politic.—*Phœnix*.

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## THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

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INDIGO COMMISSION.—We give a prominent insertion to the following Petition of the British Indian Association, as it breathes a very proper tone, and is pervaded by an earnest desire to see justice done to all parties :—

TO THE HONOURABLE J. P. GRANT,

*Lieut.-Governor of Bengal.*

*The Humble Petition of the  
British Indian Association*

SHOWETH,—That your Petitioners have viewed with much concern the contest which has sprung up within the last few months between the ryots and planters engaged in the cultivation and manufacture of Indigo in Kishnaghur and other districts in Lower Bengal.

The contest has, within the last few weeks, assumed a serious aspect, and things have approached to a crisis ; which is much to be lamented, though your Petitioners have good reasons to believe that the accounts published in the newspapers are greatly exaggerated, and they have not been surprised to perceive such to be the case from the report of the Commissioner of the Nuddea Division.

Your Petitioners cannot view the contest in any other light than as a natural struggle between Labour and Capital, and as such, its settlement ought, they are of opinion, to be left to the operation of economical laws, uninterfered with by the Government or Legislature on any side.

But circumstances have arisen, your Petitioners regret to state, which call for the interference of the authorities. Both parties have appealed to the Government for intercession and aid, and both are loud in declaring the truth and justice to be on their side. Further, it has been declared on behalf of Indigo planters, that inaction on the part of Government may lead them " to take the law into their own hands," and it has ever been circumstantially stated that " planters (at Kishnaghur) are engaging sailors in Calcutta " as a preliminary measure against such a contingency. As a confirmation to the above, your Petitioners observe certain Indigo planters of Kishnaghur stating in an official letter of theirs to the Secretary to their Association at Calcutta, that, failing attention from Government, " we must endeavour to do what is best for ourselves." This, if true, indicates a state of things fraught with danger to the peace of the district, and requires, in the judgment of your Petitioners, the prompt attention of Government.

Your Petitioners do not pretend to judge between the two contending parties, and emphatically disavow hostility to either. They, however, feel persuaded, that the question is surrounded by such difficulties by reason of the strong personal interests involved in it of both the parties, that without a public and efficient enquiry, it will be hopeless, your Petitioners believe, for Government as well as the public at large to arrive at a correct and impartial solution in regard to it.

There are two subjects connected with the cultivation of Indigo, which, your Petitioners think, above all others particularly call for this enquiry. Your Honour is aware that among other things the loudest complaints have been made by the ryots—whether with justice or not your Petitioners do not feel competent to decide—against the low rates of remuneration, compared to other articles of cultivation, especially of rice, given for the cultivation of Indigo plant, and the system of advances in vogue in the Indigo factories of lower Bengal.

In 1856 your Petitioners, in common with the estimable and philanthropic body of Protestant Missionaries of Bengal, prayed of the Government for a Commission of Enquiry of the kind referred to above. In the present prayer, however, they feel it a particular pleasure to be able to state that they have the concurrence of the European Planters immediately interested in the cultivation of Indigo, who, in their recent Petition to your Honour, have openly “courted the fullest enquiries.”

A Commission of Enquiry of the kind prayed for has long been desiderated. Whether as regards the interests of the planters or those of the ryots, a searching, patient, and unbiassed enquiry has been held to be the only means by which a true solution of this intricate and important question can be discovered, and the real character of the facts so vehemently disputed on both sides established. It is believed to be the sole means which will above all settle the position of the ryot, who has been unceasing in his complaints, and clear up the future of British enterprise in the interior, the fusion of which with Native capital and industry is justly considered to be the main security for the progress of the country in material prosperity.

Your Petitioners have observed with regret, that it has been recommended to your Honour to bring “special legislation” to bear upon British enterprise in the Mofussil by way of encouragement. Much as your Petitioners value British enterprise in India—much as they hope for the introduction of British capital, energy, and skill into this land as the pioneer of progress—much as they look to European science and its application for the development of the inexhaustible resources of this

country—they would yet reckon it as humiliating as discreditable to British Settlers, and unfortunate for the people, if those excellent advantages, which cannot be undervalued without gross positive injustice, could not be obtained without the aid of “special legislation.”

Your Petitioners would, therefore, pray that your Honour may be pleased to consider the propriety of issuing a Commission of Enquiry, consisting of such a number of persons as your Honour may deem fit, into the cultivation of Indigo in lower Bengal, with special reference to the rates of remuneration and the system of advances connected therewith.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

|                                                                                    |                     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (Signed) ISSURCHUNDER SING,                                                        |                     |
| British Indian Association Rooms ;<br>No. 3, Cossitollah,<br>The 22nd March, 1860. | }                   |
|                                                                                    | Honorary Secretary. |

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We accord our hearty support to the prayer for a Commission of Enquiry into the working of the Indigo system. It is most reasonable, and we trust it may be complied with.

A Commission of Enquiry appears in our judgment to be the most judicious way of settling this vexed question. Though our sympathies are always with the oppressed, and not with the oppressors, yet we should be grieved to see the ryots driven by desperation and “sheer zooloom” (as the *Hurkaru* is obliged to admit in case of the Ourungabad population) to commit agrarian outrages. No special law can permit masters to enforce contracts which are binding only on one party ; still less does it permit them to force their advances on ryots. The cause of the quarrel is, that the ryots *refused to take advances*, and not that they fail to fulfil their contracts. The planters demand laws which will enable them to recover these forced advances summarily, and which will make it a penal offence for a black man to be indebted to a white man.

It is incumbent on the Government not only to prevent breaches of the peace, but to sift the whole iniquitous system of "developing the resources in the Mofussil."

It will not be sufficient to employ European troops and double the force of jemadars, burkundazes, and chowkeedars in Kishnaghur and Jessore. If the manufacture of Indigo be, as the Lieutenant-Governor's letter, published elsewhere, conclusively shows, a forced trade, no police or legislation in the world will prevent its decline. That letter is an authoritative confirmation of all that has been said against the Indigo system.

The Indigo problem demands a speedy solution. An impartial Commission appears to be the best, if not only, means of solving it. Its enquiry should embrace the operation of the whole system—its connection with the Zemindary system and tenures of land—relation of labour with capital—the connection of Indigo with other crops—the mode of giving advances and working them out—and lastly, the necessity or otherwise of enacting a special law for the special protection of the "unprotected" planter.

Since the above was in type, we have learnt that the Indigo Bill, brought in by Mr. Scönce at the Legislative Council this morning, provides for the appointment of a Commission such as we have long advocated, and the British Indian Association have prayed for. We understand it is to be of a mixed character, consisting of a Civilian, a Native gentleman, and a Merchant, or a Lawyer. If the Commission goes to work in a proper way, it is sure to attain the objects of its appointment.—*Indian Field*, March 24, 1860.

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## THE INDIGO BILL.

"*Belvidere*," 23rd March, 1860.

"MY DEAR SCÖNCE,—I send you a fair copy of the Bill, which I think will do for a first and second reading, pretty well as it is. I have tried to introduce the alterations determined on this evening.

“ My reasons for recommending the Bill are, in short, these :—

“ That there is ground for believing that a great commercial calamity is threatened, by the feeling which has suddenly manifested itself amongst Indigo Ryots to repudiate their agreements to cultivate, Indigo, although advances have been made to and accepted by them only a short time ago, in the usual manner, and upon the usual understanding, namely, that they should cultivate Indigo for the planters at the usual rates. I am myself of the opinion that the Indigo cultivators have, and long have had, great and increasing ground of just complaint against the whole system of Indigo cultivation. But if they desired to break off their connection with that system they should have done so before receiving the season's advances. After working off existing engagements for which they have received the usual advance, they will have it in their power honestly to refuse to grow another plant of Indigo, unless it is made for their own interest to do so. It will be monstrous if they are not allowed, not merely by the theory of the law, but in effect, to exercise their legal and moral right in this matter. But they have, in my opinion, no moral right, and certainly they have no legal right, to turn suddenly round upon the planters, and with nothing to complain of now more than they had before, to refuse to do what, up to this moment, they have led the planters to expect that they would do according to custom and agreement. I conceive that, whether the custom is good or bad, and whether the agreement on the ryot's part be provident or improvident, and whether the general position of the ryot who grows Indigo be or be not, for the time being, one of great hardship, no individual ryot has a moral right to break his agreement. And still less can I think that a mass of ryots who have agreed and accepted advances in the usual manner, have any moral right to combine for the purpose of simultaneously breaking their agreements in order to ruin the other party. Against such a combination, and for the purpose of saving from ruin, if possible, a great commercial interest, which, however false its position may long have been, has certainly done nothing to the injury of the ryot since the last advances were made and accepted in usual course a few weeks ago ; it appears to me that a law giving a

very summary, but still a fair trial, and inflicting penal damages on the party, who after a fair trial is found to be determined wilfully to break his engagement,—is both justifiable and proper. The draft of a law which I enclose does no more than this. But I am of opinion that no law that could be framed regarding Indigo-planting at the present moment should be more than temporary. Especially, I think, that no law in the interest of the planter could, at the present moment, be honestly proposed, which should have any effect beyond the season now running on. We all of us know that the system is full of abuses. If we had never heard a word about Indigo-planting since we arrived in India; if there was not upon record a single case of abuse on the part of an Indigo planter or a zeminder (and in this respect I desire to draw no invidious distinction between one class and another), the mere fact of the existence of the present difficulty would in itself prove that the system is rotten, and that the rottenness consists in this, that in practice the ryot is made to act like a slave, not like a free man. Under a wholesome and fair system of trade, there must be in all dealing between two parties mutual gain, or at least the hope of mutual gain, and both parties to every dealing must be free agents. If, therefore, the Indigo-planting trade were in a wholesome and fair state, and an equal law were practically applicable to the rich and to the poor in dealings between planter and ryots, it is certain that the ryot would be as much afraid of the manufacturer not buying his plant, as clamorous for a special law on his side, as the manufacturer is afraid that the ryot will not cultivate and supply him with enough of the plant, and clamorous for special law on his side. We see that the present struggle on the part of the ryots is to avoid the cultivation of Indigo. From this it is certain that ryots who cultivate Indigo are forced to do so by illegitimate coercion. The same men who fight for the privilege of cultivating a field with rice for sale in the open market, are now almost in rebellion, in order to escape the calamity of cultivating a field with Indigo for sale (if sale it can be called) to the planter.

There must be a thorough inquiry into the whole system. There would have been such an inquiry long ago, I believe, if people had not been afraid of bringing on such a crisis as has now occurred. The sys-

tem was such, that sooner or latter a crisis was certain : it has now come in the natural course of things, and there is no longer an excuse for shirking the disclosure of the disease and the application of the remedy. For these reasons I could recommend no law other than a temporary law, and no law of any sort unless its promulgation to the ryots may be accompanied with a promise of full and thorough inquiry into past practice, and thereafter of a well-considered law, which shall afford, practically, equal and complete protection to the ryot as well as to the planter.

Yours sincerely,

J. P. GRANT.

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[The result of the above letter has been the Act XI. of 1860, entitled "*An Act to enforce the fulfilment of Indigo Contracts and to provide for the Commission of Enquiry.*" The only redeeming feature of this law is the provision for a Commission of Enquiry, and it is to be hoped this Enquiry will compensate for the injustice and hardship which its arbitrary provisions are in the highest degree calculated to inflict on the people. But if temporary present sufferings will set the ryots free from the same for all future time under the British rule, they will, the writer can state from his personal knowledge of their feeling, gladly undergo the incarceration and losses for double the period of that to which this Special Law has doomed them.—*Compiler.*]

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[Since the above was in type, the following appeared in "the Indian Field," illustrative of the nature of the contracts subsisting between Indigo Planters and Ryots.]

*To the Editor of "the Indian Field."*

DEAR SIR,—Eight years ago, when I still lived at Solo, my old mission-station, and when Mr. Hills,—whose Concern Mr. Forlong now manages—was about to secure to himself the neighbouring talooks, the munduls of these villages came to me in bodies of ten, twenty, and even upwards to fifty men in a body, begging very hard of me to take these few talooks around me, in order to save them from indigo oppression. They were, in case I would do so, ready to raise half the amount of the sum wanted for the purchase of the talooks amongst themselves, and make it over to me as pure present, which, indeed, they would have done, simply to escape indigo oppression. Some of the talookdars themselves too sent word to me, saying I should take their talooks. At last all the talooks (under what circumstances I cannot mention in a letter) were secured by the Nischindipore Concern. The ryots were awe-struck.

Those who until then had never sown indigo, or very little, (the people of Meliaputta, Pathorghata, and Gobindopore,) again came to beg me to protect them from the oppression that was to come upon them, and which I at the time did not understand as I do now. When the planters heard that the munduls had been with me, he, as their new rajah (king) fined, *i. e.*, took by force from every one of them, as a punishment for having gone to the padree, a sum of money of upwards of twenty-five rupees!! This, of course, put a stop to their coming to me any longer, and they were obliged to take advances for the first time and for the last, (for since that time they, with perhaps some exceptions, never got any,) and were doomed to sow indigo for ever, and that at their own enormous expense, and to their own loss and ruin. The Christians, however, (of the Meliaputta village) would not yield so easily, as they thought it my duty to protect them against oppression. Not aware at the time of the awful sort of oppression, I advised them to sow a little indigo,

telling them to consider that the planter had taken the talook merely for the indigo's sake. But they, knowing better than myself, would not on any account consent to sow. The planter, all the while, as a matter of course, believed that the padree was dissuading them. One day, when I left my station to pay a visit to a distant Brother-Missionary, Mr. G. Smith, availed himself of the opportunity, came in all haste to the Meliaputta village, and told the people that he would "in a moment destroy their village," if they did not sow indigo. Thus the ryots were obliged to say they would, and forthwith the advances were forced upon them for the first time and for the last. For why should a planter repeat the advances to such ryots that have become his own tenants or serfs? All he wants is, to have all the names of his tenants down in his contract book. After this little process is over, the ryot is said to have made contract, and considered bound to sow indigo all his life—without ever getting fresh advances. Nay, this sort of contract is not even dissolvable with the decease of both the planter and the ryots. The new planter, as a matter of course, considers the son of the deceased father bound to sow indigo all his life-time, without repeating the ceremony of making contract. Nay, I know cases where already grandsons have inherited a so-called indigo contract down from their grandfathers; and as they all the while had the idea as if the planters and the Company were identities, they, as good subjects, quietly submitted to it, and for an occasional groan they were punished and publicly slandered and libelled by the newspapers and even in reports of missionary societies. (I can never forget that the *Hurkaru* should have been able to quote whole passages from the Baptist Missionary Society's Secretary, Mr. Underhill's report in favour of the planters and against the ryots, and as a negation of what a missionary with his own eyes has witnessed for years.) But I must proceed to describe the process of making contract in the village Pootimary close to my old compound, and of which the planter is not the landlord. This happened after the Hurra Factory was bought by the Nischindipore Concern (for before this happened never a single ryot complained to me of any manager of that factory or its joint factory over at Chundraghat). One day, namely, the first munduls—some of them the landlords of my mission premises and Christian little village—of Pootimary came to me, along with some Christians, crying

and saying, to-day they had, for the first time in their life, been dishonoured, *i. e.*, beaten. The saheb of the Hurra Factory had been in the village and offered them advances. When they refused taking them, he threw the rupees down to their feet, and when they would not pick them up, the saheb obliged them to do so with his whip. But as I was then not yet fully aware of the Nischindipore system, (nor was it so bad, it must be confessed, as it is now, under the special care of its present head manager,) would not interfere, and they were left to their miserable fate. Only about eight rupees, forced upon some poor Christians who held neither jumma lands, nor had any ploughs or cows, at the time, I obliged the planter to take back. Now to return to Melliaputta: To those men who at the day of concluding contract are not at home, advances for certain beegahs were sent to them, and their names entered into the blue-book without any ceremony at all. One of them was a respectable but poor Christian. Three rupees were sent to him as an advance for one beegah and a half. When the money was given to him, he said, "now we are done for, and called his son, born to him that day, Neelmony, *i. e.*, indigo pearl." By and bye his one beegah and a half were increased to three, (*i. e.*, factory beegahs, but five zemindary beegahs were measured away,) without advance. Last year he delivered 16 carts of indigo, which at the factory were measured into 12 bundles, for which he got Co.'s rupees 3. How much of this the factory servants allowed him to take to his home, I forget, but the account of his expenses is before me, and amounts to Co.'s rs. 17-5. But you must remember he got off easiest. I have got before me 400 other accounts that will shock any one. Now a good number of such people, and others who have been suffering infinitely more, are just now imprisoned at Damoorhoodla, near Nischindipoor, with their feet in the stock, and tortured in several ways to make them confess to having taken advances. Those who can are willing to pay the heavy fines enacted, but they are not accepted; others who cannot pay, willingly go to jail, but from them money is wanted, or a promise to sow indigo.

In haste

Yours faithfully,

C. BOMWETSCH.

*Santipore, 17th April, 1860.*

## A MISSIONARY AND THE PLANTERS.

*To the Editor of the "Bengal Hurkaru."*

SIR,—The Daily Press here, being all on the side of the Indigo Planting interests, announce that peace and order are prevailing now in the Indigo Districts, with few exceptions. I have information of a different kind however, and from trustworthy sources: it is a peace procured by the dungeon and the stocks—by Magistrates pandering to the interests of planters, the Magistrate gets good cheer in the Planters' house: of course he is not ungrateful enough to give a decision in favour of the ryot, which, besides, would bring on him the abuse of the Calcutta Press. The unjust deeds of certain Magistrates are noted, and in due time will come to light.

A "reign of terror" exists in certain districts. Factory godowns, had they ears, could tell sad accounts of the sufferings of ryots. Yes, sir, certain planters can make use of Black Holes as well as Suraja Dowla did, while the violation of their daughters will teach ryots how they complain of the Indigo sahib.

You may say, sir, oh! the Commission will investigate this. The reign of terror, sir, the stocks and the black holes, are rapidly drilling ryots never at any time possessed of courage, *into silence. A ryot's life will soon not be safe who bears testimony against the planter*: as for the Commission, the well applied bribes and the black hole will make the ryot testify to any thing the planter wishes, and the Commission will fail in eliciting truth.

Let me ask you,—Is an Austrian policy to be carried out in this country? We have already the beginning of it, and Mr. Wilson may yet be the Radeztky of India. He is well intentioned, but he is allowing himself to drift on with the Calcutta current.

Yours, &c.,

A MISSIONARY.

25th April, 1860.



EXTRACTS

FROM

# THE RECORDS

OF THE

Government of Bengal,

No. XXXIII.

CONTAINING THE OPINIONS

OF

**SEVERAL OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT**

IN

VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF BENGAL

ON THE

INDIGO PLANTING SYSTEM.

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Calcutta:

C. H. MANUEL, CALCUTTA PRINTING AND PUBLISHING PRESS, No. 1,  
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1860.





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PAPERS  
RELATING TO  
INDIGO CULTIVATION  
IN  
Bengal.

NO. 1.

From A. SCOTCE, ESQ., Judge of Nuddea, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(dated Kishnaghur, the 20th April, 1854.)\*

MY DEAR BEADON,

I AM more sure that some such statement as that I now enclose should be submitted for the consideration of Government than of the proper manner of doing it. I profess merely to put on paper the outspoken complaints which people here make against the system generally, but not, as they allow, universally practised in the cultivation, of Indigo ; and I would beg you to do me the favour of laying the paper before the Governor-General.

I write, of course, not knowing whether or no the same matter has not been already pressed upon the attention of Government, perhaps I should say, not knowing but that Government has reason to decline the immediate discussion of it. My own idea, however, is, that it is no longer enough to measure the advantages of European capital and energy by the value of our exports of Indigo : the effects of the system upon the people should also be considered ; and I should wish to be satisfied that, in connection with the cultivation and manufacture of Indigo, the

people labour under none of those evils which, by a kind of social misadventure, formerly prevailed, nay, which men may regret, but are perfectly free to allow, do still prevail in England.

If the suggestion which I make, of a Commission of Inquiry, should be listened to at all, I should like to add that it seems to me, for the purpose, should be associated with the Revenue Commissioner an English and a Native gentleman *not* in the Public Service.

#### NOTE.

I FEEL that I ought not to hesitate to put on record the remarkable statements regarding the Indigo system of this District that have been made to me by Natives of respectability and intelligence, and in a position to be informed of the facts which they narrate, and which, if misinformed, they themselves assuredly believe. My connection with Indigo Districts is too recent to permit me to state the circumstances I am about to describe as having fallen within my own knowledge. Indeed, I have known for years, through casual communication with the people, that a Native landholder would shrink from the approach of Indigo cultivation as they do from fire in the dry prairies of America; and otherwise, the violent outrages that from time to time spring from the sowing of Indigo indicate an unwillingness on the part of Ryots to place their lands at the service of the Planter; but excepting these occasional and very general sources of observation, I have personally no knowledge of the complicated relationship subsisting between Indigo Planters as landlords, as cultivators, or as manufacturers, and the Ryots as tenants or labourers, or producers and sellers of produce; and though the recommendation which it is the main purpose of this paper to submit be manifestly grounded chiefly on my own ignorance of the subject, it is so plain to me, that the strong sentiments and warm feelings of the people, or at all events of that portion of the people with whom I have communicated, are not sufficiently known, have not been sufficiently investigated and discussed, and at all events to their apprehension have not been sufficiently refuted, that I presume to suggest that the complaints made should be authoritatively sifted.

When seeking information on this subject, one simple question seemed to me to lie at the bottom of the whole matter, namely, the willingness

or unwillingness of the Ryots to co-operate in the cultivation of Indigo. Willingness would betoken contentment and profitable industry ; unwillingness might express constraint, bankruptcy, undeliverable bonds. I have asked therefore simply whether the cultivation of Indigo was acceptable to the people ; and the answer given to me, interrupted more than once by the declaration that tongue must fail fully to describe the various forms in which misused power was exercised, was a long narrative of what appeared to be, to the speakers, remediless injustice.

I cannot sufficiently guard against the possible inference that I advance any statement of my own knowledge : I write what perfectly credible and perfectly respectable people have told me ; and what I am persuaded they themselves believe. No one, I may add, who has had long intercourse with the Natives can have failed to notice the credulity and weakness of judgment which, in some respects, and particularly in whatever relates to their position towards Europeans, imperfect education, narrow experience, and the timidity of their national character, tend to engender ; but allowing for this source of error, there is, I think, in their statements a substratum of understood grievances which cannot, unlistened to, be cast aside.

The general impression conveyed to me regarding the Indigo system is, that it is sustained throughout by compulsion, and by the advantages gained by arbitrary and unrighteous dealing.

It is said that the Ryots are driven by force or fear to undertake the cultivation of Indigo ; that they are not allowed to cultivate other crops till they have sown Indigo, first, it may be, on the Planter's *nijjote* land, next on the Ryot's own lands : that done, the Ryots' labour and cattle being limited, it is too late to go on with other crops.

It is said that Ryots are not at liberty to devote what lands they choose to the cultivation of Indigo, *but* their best land—this field or that, as the Planter may point out.

It is said that, in contracting engagements for land, Planters require large and unusual measure, two-and-a-half beegahs of the common beegah to make one beegah.

It is said to be notorious that a Ryot gains little if at all by the advance of two Rupees a beegah made to him by the Planter ; he has to pay it away to the Factory Amlah.

It is said that in delivering his produce the Ryot is compelled to deliver two bundles for one ; two bundles are taken from him at the market price of one bundle. This is said to be done by tying the leafy heads of two (or more) bundles together, and making one Factory bundle.

It is said that the work of the Factory is carried on by the inadequately requited services of labourers, boatmen, and hackery drivers ; by the extortionate cesses which Planters levy from their tenants ; by the compulsory loans which Mahajuns are obliged to make for the purpose of liquidating Ryots' balances.

Ryots, it has been said to me, have nothing and can have nothing ; they are working cattle merely, not men reconciled to labour by their gains.

I find it difficult to obtain anything like an exact conception of the forms in which the force or compulsion alleged to be used towards the Ryots is exerted : it is said that cattle are not allowed to graze ; that they are carried off altogether, perhaps plundered, perhaps drowned ; that crops are wantonly destroyed ; that houses are harried and burnt. Complain,—say they, how often would you have the poor man and the weak man to complain ? It is better to bear than to complain.

It will be understood that I do not adopt these statements : they are deplorable ; but the utmost I am entitled to say is, that it is deplorable, not that they are true, but that they should be believed to be true ; and it is to this belief that I think measures of inquiry and redress are due.

Should a Commission of Inquiry be instituted, these points would specially be attended to :

(1.) The whole conditions of a Ryot's engagement, as a tenant, to cultivate Indigo ; embracing the nature of his rent in money or in crop ; the rate of his rent ; the rate of advances and extent to which advances are made ; the size of the beegah compared with the beegah of Rice land ; the period of the engagement, and terms and manner of delivering the Indigo.

(2.) The Indigo being ripe for delivery, does the Planter account for it at the full Bazaar price ? Under what condition is Indigo seed taken and accounted for ?

(3.) Ordinarily, what provision is made for the termination of a Ryot's engagements ?—is any period specified ? Has the provision of Sec-

tion V. Regulation V. of 1830 been taken advantage of? In practice, by any, is an engagement considered interminable?

(4.) Season failing, on whom does the risk rest? Is the Ryot accountable for advances only; or for the entire money rent of the year; or for the value of an estimated but ungrown crop of Indigo; or for both rent and advances?

(5.) What proportion does the advance bear to the whole rent; or if the rent be estimated in kind, what is the proportion of the advance to the value of the crop? In delivering the produce, at what rate is the portion not advanced upon credited to the Ryot?

(6.) Practically, in this Factory and in that, to what extent are balances scored up against Ryots; ordinarily, what adjustments are effected; how long is adjustment deferred?

(7.) Practically, what is the comparative position of Ryots who grow Indigo and of Ryots who grow other crops but not Indigo? Is Indigo more liable to fail than other crops? If so, do the superior returns per beegah from Indigo remunerate the Ryot for his greater losses? Ordinarily, are Indigo Ryots above the world?

(8.) At what rate, under what conditions, is the labour of various descriptions required by the Planter remunerated; for tilling the private lands of the Factory; for gathering the crops; for manufacturing the Indigo, and for transporting it? Is a lost crop worked out in labour? If worked out, how is account taken?

(9.) In Farms and Talooks attached to Indigo Factories, what is the condition of the sub-tenants as such?

These queries may seem mainly to refer to the conditions of the native Ryot; but they necessarily embrace the co-relative rights and interests of the Planter. A Factory worked for twenty years or for half a century must necessarily be invested with some sort of rights; to ascertain, to define, and to preserve these rights could not but be advantageous, and is certainly due to the Indigo Planter: and possibly even a Planter should be expected to admit, that in the system into which he was necessarily adopted, investigation may disclose involuntary defects which he himself would be most unwilling to perpetuate.

A. SCONCE,

*Kishnaghur, 20th April, 1854.*

From F. BEAUFORT, Esq., Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Pubna, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahye Division,—(No. 90, dated the 26th October, 1854.)\*

SIR,

WHEN the Lieutenant-Governor visited this Station, he desired me to make a report to him, through you, regarding the expediency of re-enacting a Law for enforcing the execution of contracts relating to the cultivation and delivery of Indigo plant. I have since then made inquiries on the subject from various persons, and I have now the honour to furnish you with the conclusions which the information so obtained, and my own experience, have enabled me to draw.

2. You are aware that Section III. Regulation V. 1830 made the evasion by a Ryot of his Indigo contract punishable by a Magistrate, in the same way as similar evasions of other contracts are punishable under Section V. Regulation VII. 1819 ; and that this provision was rescinded by Act XVI. 1835. The result of that rescission was and is, that if the Ryots break the conditions of their agreements by a fraudulent transfer of the produce of their land to another person, or by refusing to cultivate the land with Indigo, the aggrieved Planter has no resource but what is to be found in the provisions of Regulation VI. 1823 and Act X. 1836. But experience has shown that this is insufficient. The observation contained in the preamble of the former of the last-quoted enactments is still applicable to the case, with the alteration of only one word. The system at present in force provides, as above observed, no other remedy for parties injured by this dishonest practice than by a [Summary] action in the Civil Court. The difficulty and delay of obtaining redress by that course have not unfrequently led to acts of violence, and even to serious affrays.

3. The Magistrate can in no way interfere, for if the Planter brings a suit before him under Act IV. 1840, as having a *quasi* possession of the land, as obtained through advances in money and seed for its cultivation, he cannot interfere, since the Sudder Court have expressly ruled that the Ryot who has cultivated, and not the person who has made advances, is to be held to be in possession of the land ; and that the lien or

\* Selections XXXIII., pp. 26-32.

interest which the Planter holds under Section II. Regulation VI. 1823 should not be considered in such case.

4. In 1835 the Legislature had ceased to shadow forth in a preamble the reasons which had led to any enactment, and therefore it is not apparent why the rules of Regulation V. 1830 were rescinded ; whether any inconvenience had been felt in practice from abuse of the power conferred, or other cause ; or whether the Legislature of the day considered that any principle of Law was contravened by those provisions. But as far as I can learn, there were very few complaints and very few convictions under it. It was originally enacted at the time of the great failures among the Mercantile houses in Calcutta. The Planters were all heavily in debt to those houses, and were much distressed for funds. When Palmer and Co. failed, the Native Zemindars took advantage of the consequent panic to induce the Ryots to break off all their engagements with the Planters, who at that time could not hold estates in their own name. This state of things was represented to Government by Planters ; and probably Lord William Bentinck saved Indigo property in Bengal from utter destruction by passing the Regulation in question.

5. I am assured by old Planters that the effect of it was merely to keep matters quiet. The Zemindars ceased to instigate their Ryots to break off their contracts ; and the Planters feeling themselves more secure were enabled to carry on their Concerns without having recourse to the compulsion and physical force to which the state of affairs had driven them. There was no complaint, they say, of oppression arising from the Law ; and they are not aware of the reasons which led to its repeal. Its enactment produced no evil ; while its rescission has sown the seeds of numberless quarrels, from which has sprung a full harvest of assaults, plunderings, illegal detentions, and affrays.

6. But the question for present consideration is, whether a Law of this kind be now required or not ; and whether it would be productive of more good than evil. That its provisions will be to some extent abused, that there are men among the Planters who will not scruple to take a dishonest advantage of it, is not to be denied. But this is not a sufficient reason for refusing the prayer of the large body of honourable men who do not, and will not, have recourse to such fraudulent practices. For there are many Laws of which rogues make daily use, but which



cannot on that account be taken out of the books. A forged bond is the common weapon of enmity ; but the Courts cannot refuse on that account to enforce those which are not fraudulent. Not admitting, therefore, this plea against the enactment, I proceed to investigate the arguments in its favour.

7. In the present state of the Law, if the Ryots who have taken advances refuse to act up to their contracts, the Planter has no other remedy than a civil suit. It will hardly be denied that this is in fact no remedy at all. The civil prosecution of a large number of Ryots involves a large expenditure, the greater portion of which can never be recovered. It is also a tedious process, although called summary, during the progress of which the Planter sustains additional loss. We find, therefore, that very few cases of this nature are instituted, although breach of contract is of frequent occurrence. In lieu of it, the Planter has recourse to physical force, the consequences of which are injury and oppression with affrays.

8. But the reason for this frequent breach of contract is not to be found among the Ryots. They can find no ultimate advantage in not fulfilling their engagements. It is the Zemindars who instigate them to evade their agreements, and who make use of the tremendous power they possess to prevent the cultivation of Indigo in whole villages and sometimes in whole Estates. The Ryots are always glad enough to take advances, because it gives them the means of paying their rents ; and for the same reason the Zemindars do not interfere before the time has arrived for sowing. It is well known that the agents of the landholders are at hand to receive the rents when the advances are being made, and are often present in the Planter's cutcherry for that purpose. The money thus secured by the Ryot and placed to his credit, he has no objection to throw the Planter overboard, provided he has some powerful person to back him and save him from his vengeance. There is no doubt but that he has, whether reasonably or unreasonably, a great aversion to Indigo. He believes there are many other crops which yield a more certain as well as a larger profit. I have heard Planters argue the contrary and produce proofs of it, but the idea in the Ryot's mind remains the same. When, therefore, he is desired by the agent not to cultivate any Indigo, on pain of the Zemindar's dis-

pleasure, he sees no profit in refusing obedience. He has pocketed the advances ; he knows that his landlord has ample power to oppress him, and he hopes that he will secure him from the Planter. He has no hesitation in signing an *ekrar* to break his contract.

9. Probably the Planter hears nothing of what is going on ; appearances are kept up ; a shower of rain falls and the Takadgeer is immediately sent to the spot with the seed. Then the disturbance commences ; the Takadgeer is obliged to run, and the seed is destroyed. The next day the Planter is told that, instead of the lands being sown when the opportunity offered, the Ryots have with one accord repudiated their advances, turned his servants out of the villages, and filled the lands with Dhan.

10. What is he to do ? There is no remedy to be found in the Law, a great loss is impending over him ; and there are only two ways of avoiding it. He must either use physical force and compel the Ryots to fulfil their contracts at the point of the stick, or he must come to terms with the Zemindar, if indeed that be possible, that is to say, he must make large presents to the Zemindar's Omlah, and pay black mail to the man himself under the plea of the old rents which, in fact, he does not owe, or take leases of the villages on losing jummas.

11. If the Bill which has lately been read in the Legislative Council becomes Law, a recurrence to the Lattial system will expose him to heavy punishments ; and he will be entitled to claim the enactment of some other Law which will really protect his interests from losses of this kind. But even under the present Law, the appeal to physical force is attended with great expense and great annoyance in many ways. For the sake of peace, therefore, many Planters consent to the Zemindar's exactions, if not too immoderate. The consequence is, that the Law in some measure assists the Zemindar in levying what is in fact a heavy tax, and adds so much to the difficulties and expense of planting, repressing the commerce of the country in one of its most valuable products. And it must be remembered that the large amount of ready money annually expended by the Planters has a very material effect on the Revenues of the country.

12. But it may be that the Zemindar will not consent to any terms he may have a personal feeling to gratify in destroying the cultivation

of a Concern ; he may refuse to lease his villages to the Planter on any terms ; and at the same time prevent his Ryots from growing Indigo. And I beg to say that I have seen instances of this. In such case if the Zemindar has large estates, in which an Indigo Concern has been cultivating for years, he has it in his power to injure it in a very serious degree. In fact, he is sometimes able to shut up one or two of the Factories.

13. To obviate these difficulties the Planter is always willing to obtain landed property if possible. He rarely has the opportunity of getting anything better than a Putnee ; generally he must be content with a short lease. But for either he must pay very high, and agree to a rent on which he will suffer a yearly loss. To this he will submit readily, if within his means ; and is liberal in the settlement, because he finds a great profit in it in freedom from quarrels and in the power which it gives him over the Ryots.

14. The proposed re-enactment would provide a remedy for much of this, and prevent the undue interference of the Zemindar. If the Ryots can be brought to immediate punishment, the breach of contract will be a rare occurrence. The Planter will not spend money in vain ; the Zemindar will be obliged to have recourse to the not illegal exercise of his power over his Ryots in preventing them from taking advances, instead of first taking and then repudiating them ; and the frequent disturbances between the two will cease to occur.

15. But if such an enactment is to be made Law, we must provide against the probable abuse of it by unscrupulous men. The general tone of the Planters has improved of late years ; and the present body contains men of higher principle than formerly. But in legislating you make a Law applicable to all cases and all classes ; and you cannot depend on individual character. Planting is carried on by Natives as well as Europeans, by men of evil as well as of good repute. Jessore and Nuddea especially are studded over with shut-up Factories, in almost all of which there are large outstanding balances against the Ryots, under the name of advances. For in balancing the account of the Ryot at the close of the season, it is frequently the custom to pay for the Indigo brought to the vats without deducting the advances made, and thus to leave a balance against him which is still called an advance.

16. No contract, therefore, ought to be valid beyond the current season. Each Indigo year should have its own contracts duly executed at the time the advances are made. They should specify the amount of advances, the extent of land which the Ryot contracts to cultivate, and the boundaries of each field which is to be cultivated: and every contract ought to be registered in the presence of the Planter, or his agent, and the Ryot.

17. This would raise a difficulty in regard to the Offices of Registry; for neither could the Planter and the Ryots find time to attend at the Sudder Station for this purpose, nor could the former afford to pay for each of some hundreds of contracts the sum which it costs now to register any document, whether of small or of great importance. Registrars must be provided near at hand, and the charge must be fixed very low.

18. In the vicinity of the Sudder Stations, or of the Head-Quarters of Sub-Divisions, such contracts might be registered before the Collector, or Magistrate, or the Officer in charge of the Sub-Divisions. But in more remote positions it will be necessary to appoint respectable Natives, who should at the same time be made liable to severe penalties for any misfeasance. And in all cases every contract registered should be forwarded for record to a central Office within a limited period. Such subordinate Registrars should not be allowed to take Mokhtarnamahs; though they might admit general powers of attorney accepted by the regular Courts. Everything should be done by the parties contracting in person and on the spot, so as to give the greatest possible publicity to the proceeding. These subordinate Registrars would be of the same class as the Sale Commissioners appointed under Act I. 1839: and I think the expedient would be found to answer.

19. On the whole, it seems to me that the original rule of Regulation V. 1830 might be re-enacted without danger to the public, and with much advantage to parties engaged in the cultivation of Indigo. And it certainly appears to me that every just facility should be given to persons engaged in a branch of commerce so important in itself, and which is so beneficial to the country at large.

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From H. STAINFORTH, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division,  
to A. W. RUSSELL, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of  
Bengal,—(No. 33, dated the 13th January, 1855).\*

SIR,

I BEG to acknowledge your letter No. 3079, of the 14th ultimo, and to submit the following remarks on the recommendations of Mr. Beaufort, for the consideration of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. The relative position of the parties, whose interests are involved in Mr. Beaufort's recommendations, seems to be as follows :—

3. The Planter's Factory is surrounded by the land of other parties, on which Indigo must be raised for him, or he must close his Factory erected at great expense.

4. If he can obtain a lease of it from the Landholder, little power is left to oppose what he is able and ready to bring to bear on the Ryot, and matters proceed generally in conformity with his will. But it often happens that a Landholder asks a higher rent than the Planter is willing, or perhaps able, to pay; or he is indisposed, from some cause or other, to let his estate to the Planter, and thus no lease is effected.

5. The Planter is then driven to deal with the Ryots, without the powers and influence which a lease from the Landholder would have given him. Moreover, the Zemindar, disappointed in not obtaining the jumma which he asked; or owing the Planter a grudge; or averse to having his estate covered with a crop which he cannot sell in distraint for rent due to him; or unwilling to be supplanted in the influence which, as Landlord, he thinks himself entitled to hold among the tenantry of his estate; or perhaps even desirous of protecting his tenants from the oppression which Planters invariably and necessarily exercise more or less, of course thwarts the Planter as much as possible.

6. The Ryots generally have a hard time of it under the Planters. They know that when a shower falls they must be compelled to assist in cultivation, or the opportunity for sowing will be lost; that when a river rises, they must be compelled to assist in cutting the crop, or it will be destroyed by the water, and they feel that they had much better go on *more majorum* cultivating other crops which Mr. Beaufort admits to be

more profitable than Indigo ; but some are tempted by advances to execute engagements, while others have engagements written out in their names and advances forced upon them, or not given at all. Such contracts are of course readily broken, and no great influence, if any, on the part of the Zemindar seems necessary to induce the Ryots to break them.

7. This I believe to be the real state of the case, and it is clear on the premises that the cultivation of Indigo in Bengal is in a false position ; and that it can only be carried on with any degree of fairness when the interests of Planter and the Ryot are, in some measure, assimilated by their standing, in respect to each other, in the relation of landlord and tenant, in which relation it would be more impolitic on the Planter than it is at present to lessen the income and resources of the Ryots.

8. Mr. Beaufort sees danger of fraud, and he would appoint persons to register the contracts near the Factories, as a protection to the Ryots, but *quis custodiet ipsos custodes ?* It requires no special power of prescience to say, with certainty of correctness, that, even as the Sale Commissioners are the ready tools of the Landholder's oppression, these proposed Registrars would be willing instruments to wink at the personation of any number of Ryots by any single servant of the Indigo Planter. Such registration, as protection, would be wholly illusory. If it would have any effect, the effect could only be pernicious.

9. I need scarcely add, that until I came to the conclusion that the weak and poor, who form the great mass of the population, should be made weaker and poorer for the benefit of a small body of men, many of whom are very unscrupulous and oppressive, I am not likely to concur in Mr. Beaufort's recommendations.

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From W. H. ELLIOTT, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 33, dated the 22nd March, 1855.)\*

SIR,

IN reply to your Circular of the 14th December last, No. 3079, regarding the re-enactment of Section III. Regulation V. of 1830, which rendered a breach of contract for the cultivation of Indigo a criminal

offence, I have the honour to submit, with all deference, the following remarks :—

2. The whole system of cultivating of Indigo in Lower Bengal is so radically bad, that I believe there are few Planters who are not compelled at times to resort to violent measures, which their better feelings disapprove, for the preservation of their Factories from ruin. I do not here allude to those acts of gross injustice and open violence which admit of no palliation; but I know from personal experience that Planters, who would scorn *such* acts, do too often consider themselves obliged to take land for Indigo against the will of the Ryot who has refused advances, and to force advances upon others.

3. Having served in the largest Indigo District in India, and in others of considerable importance, I have seen no little of the working of the system; and I regret to say that I never yet heard of one instance in Bengal of a Ryot gaining substance by the cultivation of Indigo. The Gomashas and other Omlah, the Takadgeers and other subordinates of Indigo Factories constantly amass wealth, more or less, but the fact of a mere cultivator of Indigo having become wealthy in Bengal has never yet been brought to my notice. Indeed, under the present system, strange as it may appear, the wealth of the Ryots is inconsistent with the well-being of the Factory, which depends upon keeping a Ryot invariably upon the Debit side of the Account, as the only hold which the Planter has upon the land for the next year.

4. Mr. Beaufort acknowledges in his 8th paragraph, that “the Ryot has no doubt, reasonably or unreasonably, a great aversion to Indigo, because he believes there are many other crops which yield a more certain as well as a larger profit.” In another part of the same paragraph Mr. Beaufort says—“the Ryots are glad enough to take advances, because they give them the means of paying their rents.” I think it may fairly be argued, from these two statements taken together, that no Ryot who can otherwise pay his rents will take advances for Indigo, and this fact my own experience attests. I have known instances in which, circumstances having led to the abandonment of certain villages by Planters, the Ryots have been for some years free. Suddenly the loss of an *ijara*, or the commencement of a feud in another quarter, has turned the Planter’s attention to such villages, and the Ryots have been

called upon to take advances which one and all have refused. The Factory Books have then been searched, and it has been found that the father of A and the uncle of B and the elder brother of C once held the lands now in the possession of those three individuals ; and were, at the time of their decease, indebted in various trifling sums to the Factory. The unlucky Ryots were then called upon to pay the debts of their predecessors ; acknowledgments of those debts with promises to pay, prepared by some unscrupulous subordinate of the Factory, have then perhaps been shown to the proprietor, who naturally praised the good management of his Omlah, and authorised advances to the villagers, part of which being retained by the Omlah, the rest would be given with many threats, in presence of many Factory servants, to the unlucky Ryots whose fields, for years devoted to more profitable crops, would thenceforth be sown with Indigo. No effort of the Ryot in the supply of Indigo could efface the advance made to him ; and no cash-payment in liquidation of that advance could be accepted ; for, as I have already said, the grand object is to keep the Ryots always on the Debit side of the Book, as the only lien which the Factory has upon the land.

5. That Ryots do often obtain assistance by cash advances from Indigo Planters, to escape the rapacity of Zemindars, is undeniable. I have known many a kind act done by a Planter in thus helping a Ryot ; but, on the other hand, the return which the Ryot has to make is to *him* most ruinous ; and it would be strange indeed if the Ryot, knowing Indigo to be amongst the least profitable of crops, should voluntarily enter upon its cultivation.

6. It is also a notorious fact that the Ryot does not get as much placed to his credit as his crop, if fairly paid for, would yield. I have heard many calculations made which go to prove that five bundles of Indigo are as much as can possibly be given, with

A bundle consists of as much Indigo plant as can be encircled by a six feet chain.

any hope of remuneration to the cultivator, for one Rupee ; but the general rate taken in Bengal I believe to be eight or nine bundles : and, further, the measurement of bundles is made in various ways. At times the chain is passed round the bundle so as to form what may be called just measure ; at other times the two ends are pulled with such force by two Takadgeers, that a bundle and half is compressed within the chain ;



the degree of strain to be used is, not improbably, regulated by the payment or non-payment of a *douceur* by the Ryot.

7. I am quite unable to understand on what ground a Law is required for the cultivation of Indigo, more stringent than that needed for Paddy or Sugar-cane. Surely, in these days, when the liberty of the subject is so respected as to give undue safety to evil doers, a Ryot should not be forced by a criminal enactment to cultivate a crop which sad experience has shown him to yield no profit.

8. I have myself *occasionally* seen Indigo cultivated willingly ; that crop will grow upon sandy churs where almost nothing else will flourish. On such a chur, were a Ryot paid at the end of each season for the Indigo delivered by him, *and acquitted of all claims for the future*, many a man would be glad to cultivate ; but the known impossibility of extricating himself from the books of a Factory, in which his name has once been entered ; the certainty that all the land cultivated this year, and perhaps an additional piece also, will be claimed next year by the Factory, may well make every Ryot fearful of such a connexion.

9. The conduct of the Native landholders with regard to Indigo Factories is not always so bad as it is represented. The Native naturally desires to make the best bargain he can. The Revenue Laws give him an awful power over his tenants ; and, in order to make the Planter pay a high price for his Putnee or Ijara, he tells his Ryots that they must not cultivate Indigo without his permission. This provokes the Planter, and he tries to force the Ryots, who appeal to their landlord, whose pecuniary interest is at stake, and undoubtedly he has a right to get the utmost he can for his property. The same thing is done every day in other matters, without exciting animadversion. I saw not long ago, in Calcutta, a dirty little patch of ground, adjoining a fine house of a rich man, and asked how he could tolerate it. He said he could not help it, as the ground was not his. It was worth about 100 Rupees ; he had offered 2,500 (but its owner demanded 5,000), and he could not take it by force ! The Zemindar's demands are exorbitant, for the simple reason that they know the Factories cannot get on without their lands. The Planters are annoyed, and feuds ensue. If no Planter would commence an Indigo Factory till he could secure the full amount of land necessary

for its support, very few disturbances would arise, and less oppression of the Ryots would be needed : as is the case generally with *Native* Indigo Factories. A very large extent of country belongs to the Zemindar ; he makes no advances of cash, but gives the Ryots seed, and requires a certain proportion of the land of every village to be sown with Indigo ; for the produce of that land he pays at the end of the season ; not much perhaps, but a moderate remuneration. The Ryot, however, is free for the next year ; he is not indebted to the Factory, and perhaps the next year some other Ryot's land may be taken.

10. Again, in Tirhoot and Behar, where the advance system is not prevalent, and the Ryots are more fairly paid at the end of the season, and the Planters are on a better footing with each other and with the Zemindars, Indigo cultivation is a much easier matter than in Bengal. Many of the Planters are highly respected : I can mention an instance of this, which came under my own observation, to the honour of Mr. William Moran, of Mooteeharee, now an Indigo Broker in Calcutta. After the failure of the Union Bank and Cockrell and Co., who were his Agents, he had no money and no seed, and was in Calcutta making the best he could of a bad job. His Factories were under the charge of a country-born writer, very lame and not very energetic. And, day after day, I rode over the neighbourhood and saw his lands cultivated as well, by the voluntary efforts of his Ryots, as in his palmiest days. At the eleventh hour he got a little seed and sent it up. It was sown and he had an excellent season, and has since cleared off all incumbrances, and is, I hope and believe, a wealthy man.

11. In the same District I saw, oft and again, that with regard to the *hundred-thousand* registered cultivators of Poppy, the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them was to get their names cut out of the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent's Books. No force was required to increase *that* cultivation. It pays so well, that every man is anxious to be allowed to supply Opium ; and that led to the chief grievance of the Factories of that District, that each Ryot was anxiously looking to sowing less Indigo if he might sow more Poppy.

12. I do not see how it can be doubted that, if a Ryot were well paid for cultivating Indigo, he would gladly do it. Nor do I see how the Legislature can be asked to assist in the forcible extension of a crop

which confessedly does not pay, and leads the Ryots concerned in it into endless annoyances. The registered contracts (which even Mr. Beaufort thinks necessary to guard against oppression and fraud) will, I believe, prove utterly useless; and, with the kindest feelings to many honourable Indigo Planters, I am compelled to express a hope that the repealed Law in question will not be re-enacted, and that the Planters will, in lieu thereof, adopt a better system of management.

From W. LUKE, ESQ., Civil and Sessions Judge of Midnapore, to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 1, dated the 4th January, 1855.)\*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

No. 3079, dated the 14th ultimo,

\* Letter from Commissioner of Circuit and Revenue, Rajshahye, No. 402, of the 3rd November, 1854, with one enclosure.

forwarding copies of letters noted in the margin, requesting me to

give an opinion of the expediency of altering the Law for summarily enforcing the execution of contracts entered into for the cultivation and delivery of Indigo plant, as suggested by Mr. Beaufort, the Joint Magistrate of Pubna.

Mr. Beaufort, in the 2nd paragraph of his letter, observes that the result of the rescission of Section III. Regulation V. of 1830, "was and is, that if the Ryots break the conditions of their agreements by a fraudulent transfer of the produce of their land to another person, or by refusing to cultivate the land with Indigo, the aggrieved Planter has no redress but what is to be found in the provisions of Regulation VI. of 1823 and Act X. of 1836, but *experience* has shown that this is insufficient." The grievances to which Mr. Beaufort adverts existed long before Regulation V. of 1830 was promulgated, and that enactment was framed to meet cases such as Mr. Beaufort describes, and were certainly *not* the result of the rescission of Section III. of that enactment. My experience does not tell me that the Law as it at present exists is insufficient for the protection of Planters against the dishonesty of Ryots: a breach of contract usually occurs by a hostile neighbour or the Zemindar

inducing parties who have taken advances for Indigo plant to depart from their agreement, and in such cases the Law, as it now stands by Section III. Regulation X. of 1836, seems to me to afford ample redress, not only against the defaulters themselves, but against all others who may be instrumental in *prevailing* on Ryots' to commit a breach of contract.

The difficulty and delay in obtaining redress by a civil action, which Mr. Beaufort points out, is in my opinion exaggerated ; but if these really exist, the contemplated changes in our Civil Courts will supply a remedy.

Class legislation under any circumstances is objectionable, and I see no reason why Indigo more than any other product of the country should receive the special protection of the Legislature, as it is well known to all who have had any experience in Districts where the cultivation of Indigo prevails that it is a *forced* cultivation.

There are many causes for this. In the first place, it is a most exhausting crop, and land repeatedly sown with it deteriorates every year. In the next place, it is in the long run a losing crop to the Ryot. He may be induced to grow it for the sake of the advances, which gives him a command of money at a moment when he may much require it ; having once, however, entered into engagements, he is no longer a free Agent ; his land is pledged to the Planter, and he is seldom or never able to redeem it. At the close of each year he still finds himself, from some cause or other, debtor to the Factory, and therefore compelled to sow Indigo with a view to clear off his debt, (a result never likely to occur,) or to suffer the consequences of refusal.

None but the needy will voluntarily engage to sow Indigo plant, and in support of this fact I would observe that the first object of a Planter in establishing an Indigo Factory is to secure the proprietary right in the land where his future operations are to be carried on ; by this means he obtains power over the Ryots, and his first step in furtherance of his object is to require all those holding lands adapted to the growth of

Indigo plant to set apart a portion for  
that purpose. This requisition is strictly  
Whether willing or otherwise.  
enforced by the servants of the Factory, who measure off the lands, superintend the sowing, weeding, and subsequent reaping of the crop, and no solicitations or remonstrances on the part of the Ryot are of

any avail. The Ryot receives a fair remuneration for his labour, *as far as the Planter himself is aware*, but it passes through so many hands, from the Factory Dewan to the lowest Takeedar, that by the time it reaches the party entitled to it, it is so shorn of its proportions, that it is no longer an adequate return for the articles supplied, or the time and labour bestowed upon it. Can it then be a matter of surprise that the Ryot should be unwilling to resign his independence and means of support by voluntarily making engagements that he knows full well must terminate to his detriment? Certainly not, and for these reasons I think it would be impolitic to make the Laws in regard to Indigo contracts more stringent in their provisions than they are at present.

From A. SCUNCE, ESQ., Civil and Sessions Judge of Nuddea, to W. GREY, ESQ., Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 6, dated the 11th January, 1855.)\*

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to receive Mr. Under-Secretary Russell's letter No. 3079, of the 14th ultimo, with its enclosure, relative to the expediency of re-enacting in a modified form certain rescinded provisions of Regulation V. of 1830, with a view to the summary cognizance and punishment of a breach of Indigo contracts: and as instructed by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, I now offer, but with much diffidence, such remarks as occur to me on this very wide and very delicate subject.

2. In the 8th paragraph of Mr. Beaufort's letter there is a remarkable statement. Mr. Beaufort observes, that "there is no doubt but that the Ryot has, whether reasonably or unreasonably, a great aversion to Indigo. He believes there are many other crops which yield a more certain as well as a larger profit. I have heard Planters argue the contrary, and produce proofs of it, but the idea in the Ryots' mind remains the same." This then is a preliminary fact, that the Ryot, believing Indigo to be an unprofitable crop, is averse to undertake the cultivation of it; and the proposition is, that he shall be summarily

\* Selections XXXIII., pp. 49—55.

punished for evading his contract to cultivate what he declares and believes is a losing crop.

3. This incompatible conjunction of circumstances rather adds to the perplexity I have experienced hitherto when I have tried to form a view of this matter from my own limited experience : and I say unfeignedly I should have been glad if Mr. Beaufort had discussed, with all the facilities which his local knowledge afforded him, the very peculiar position indicated by the admitted reluctance of the Ryot to sow his lands with Indigo. How is it that a Ryot enters into a contract to cultivate a crop to which he is known to be averse ? How is his reluctance overcome, or is it ever overcome ? Is he free to take the contract or let it alone ? And for ourselves we may ask, knowing that the Ryot is an unwilling party to the covenant, knowing that in his judgment the cultivation of rice or of oil-seeds would be more profitable to him, shall we aggravate the anomaly by constituting the rejection of the contract a crime and imprisoning the criminal ?

4. The feelings ascribed by Mr. Beaufort to the Pubna Ryot entirely correspond with, I may say, the general opinion entertained of the feelings and inclinations of the agricultural community in this District. No one, it is said, would cultivate Indigo if left to his own choice : yet Indigo engagements are undertaken in spite of the known reluctance of the people.

5. Possibly the main cause of objection to the cultivation of Indigo is ascribable to the losses it entails ; the sufficiency and quality of the crop being precarious ; and the unliquidated advances being an irredeemable burden. It is admitted that Planters cannot cultivate Indigo by their own hired labourers. They cannot make it pay. The returns do not remunerate them with sufficient profit over and above the expenses of labour. Planters therefore prefer to throw the expenses of cultivation on the Ryots. Planters pay for the crop ; Ryots give their labour to produce the crop : but have we grounds to assume that the Ryot succeeds in a crop which the Planter fails in ? The precarious nature of the crop there is no contesting : and an inquiry of greater interest cannot be suggested than that of ascertaining, both whether the Ryot's absolute share of one year's crop be a just return to him for that year, and whether it be sufficient to cover the losses he incurs in a series of years.

Some Planters, it is said, take four bundles, some take six bundles of cut plant to the Rupee : and whether it be from generosity that one confines himself to the lower rate, or from right that the other enforces the higher, it is understood that, generally speaking, Ryots are never in a condition to relieve themselves from the balances written against them in the Factory accounts.

6. But, as I understand, the connexion of the Planter and Ryot is not simply that of a cultivator working upon the advances of a capitalist. The Planter is not and yet is the cultivator. He selects the land ; he directs and compels the ploughing, and the sowing, and the weeding. The land is " his cultivation," and the ripened crop is cut for his vats. Unquestionably, by the energy and attention of the Planter the land is likely to be better tilled and the crop more productive : but it is more in place to consider whether the interference which he exercises and the rights he asserts are compatible with his abnegation of the responsibility of a cultivating farmer ; with the freedom and rights of the Ryot, and with the adequate remuneration of the Ryots enforced, but possibly, judiciously directed labour. An advance of two Rupees a beegah cannot justify the assertion of every sort of right ; nor is it, in any fair sense, a measure of the Ryot's duty to labour, or of the remuneration of his labour and of his expenses additional to his own labour. Rather is it the reverse of the acknowledged remuneration of an exacted or required service, for to whatever extent the crop fails, the labour is practically disavowed, and the money paid in anticipation is written back as a debt against the Ryot. It seems to me that it is only by treating the subject in this form that the admitted unwillingness of the Ryot to grow Indigo can be thoroughly understood. Probably his unwillingness is not feigned, and I feel deeply the importance of giving a definite, if it were a true, expression to his objections.

7. Again, it is universally assumed, that in this District Ryots do not retain more than a half, or a third, or less than a third of the advances ostensibly paid to them. The chief or a large portion is absorbed by the Factory Omlah. Public Officers, European and Native, Native residents of the District, and others, speak of this as a fact which they believe, though possibly not one party so speaking can specify any case falling within his individual knowledge. Public report may be as exaggerated

as it is indefinite. Necessarily a good deal depends upon the Planter's personal supervision at the time his money is distributed, and it may be feared that the most commendable efforts of the Planters who distribute their own advances are to some extent defeated by the mean speculation and unconscientious and faithless fraud of dependants from which they, no more than the public departments of the State, can reckon on being exempt. My attempt to explain the reasons which possibly determine the Ryot's aversion to grow Indigo would be incomplete if I omitted this misappropriation of his advances. It is by the advance that the contract is professedly constituted; and obviously the countenance and aid to be given to that contract by the Law should be materially affected by our assurance that the Ryot fully received, or was responsible for not fully receiving, the consideration stipulated in his agreement.

8. I do not know to what extent the advance consists partly of cash and partly of unliquidated balances of past years. I have seen cases in which the advance, expressed in a renewed contract, consisted wholly of the balance of an account. I have seen a case in which for the cultivation of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  beegahs the advance consisted of 8 annas cash and Rupees 6-8 of old balances. Generally, I apprehend, the entire advance is cash; this is a point however (as indeed are many others) upon which I do not possess exact or sufficient information; but even the exception to the general rule must be deplored which would invoke the aid of a penal Law to enforce the labour of a Ryot for the adjustment of an old and an unchecked debt.

9. Here, as in Pubna, there is the same striking unwillingness on the part of the Ryot to cultivate Indigo, and on the part of the Zemindar to let Indigo be cultivated. From both parties, over all, floats a shadow of dissatisfaction, which, however it may veil the nature and force of underlying interests or passions, is itself palpably manifest. Both say we do not want it—we would rather be let alone; but practically both accede, one to the cultivation of the repudiated crop, the other to the subletting of his estate to the proprietors of Factories. But they say more: they say they act under constraint, and are unable to abide the issue of an unequal struggle. No one more than myself abhors dishonesty, or the exertion of malicious influence, from whomsoever it proceeds. I have nothing to say in favour of Ryots who accept advances only to embezzle



them, or of Zemindars who, for selfish and fraudulent ends, instigate the evasion of the mutually beneficial and mutually acceptable engagements of Planters and Ryots : but I cannot convert dissent into fraud; nor can I presume that the profits of a favourable speculation are, in the eyes of Zemindars and Ryots, to be derived, not from carrying the speculation to a completion, but by contemning the crop and incurring the perils of misappropriating the Planter's advances. Mr. Beaufort states, but does not attempt to account for, the motives of Zemindars in instigating Ryots to evade their Indigo agreements. In this District such interference is comparatively rare ; but supposing it were not so, and that the fact is as asserted, it cannot be without a purpose that Zemindars oppose the cultivation of Indigo. Indeed, they can assign no stronger reasons than the Pubna Ryot himself assigns, that Indigo is a losing crop : but, besides, the Pubna Zemindar may be influenced by other motives which it is as just as it is important to ascertain. That the Zemindar should seek a share in the Ryot's advances for the adjustment of his rent is not censurable. Probably, when the advance is made, seven or eight months of the Revenue year have gone. The advance is all that the landlord sees in the shape of harvest to cover his claim ; and when the real harvest is cut well into the second year, far from yielding rent to the Zemindar, it may be and often is largely insufficient to balance the Planter's pre-payment to the Ryot. And surely in the mere matter of misappropriating advances upon which Mr. Beaufort lays so much stress, and which it is the express purpose of his letter to bring within the cognizance of the Criminal Law, the remedy is in the hands of the Planter. Let him not advance at all. He knows that Zemindars and people are unmistakeably averse to the engagement he binds the Ryot by. Let then the Ryot cultivate his land in his own way, with Indigo if it be profitable, and with advances, if advances be desirable to him, paid at the risk of those who are willing to accommodate him. It is the business of the Legislator to exhaust, not to increase, the opportunities from which spring public crime.

10. There is no advantage in an advance itself. It is notoriously an expensive incumbrance. A Ryot who, from his own resources, pays his rent, supports his family, and cultivates his rice, his dal, his jute, and his oil-seeds without advances, is far more prosperous than a Ryot who

cannot do the same things without borrowed money. It is not the apparent temporary convenience that the Ryot's profit for the year begins and ends with. To be sure in Indigo the advance is too often the Ryot's whole harvest. But I speak just now of the general uses of advances, upon which there is much misapprehension. It is not the advance, but the completed harvests of the whole year that determine the prosperity of the Ryot. He is *not* prosperous, he is *not* benefited, if the debt scored against him exceeds the crop which he is supposed to have reaped. And, again, the advance is itself nothing, except it be the representative of rent and food and wages : and more happily these sources of wealth may be permitted to represent themselves. Without an advance, as with an advance, a Ryot may buy cattle, till his land, and pay his landlord's rent : but this is all outlay on his part, a means to an end ; and it is by measuring his in-coming crop only that we can congratulate him or his country upon the resources he is supposed to be the instrument of developing. An exhausting crop may impoverish the people as well as the soil.

11. The superfluous assistance of an advance when it is not needed is too much confounded with the useful ends it is calculated to promote when it effectively works up waste land, or encourages the people to adopt a more remunerating agriculture. But neither of these conditions applies, in a general sense, to Indigo. Hear what the Pubna Ryot says : He says he is prepared to cultivate his own land ; it will not therefore lie waste by the withdrawal of the Planter : and what is more, he is persuaded that the products he will himself cultivate will pay him better than Indigo. Under such circumstances, it is a striking scientific error to commend or justify the employment of advances. Capital superfluously spent is mis-spent : and labour mis-directed is lost and wasted. I need not say that I do not depreciate the value of Indigo. To some it is a source of great gain. And I do not doubt that even the Ryot's reluctance to cultivate Indigo may be conciliated, and the Zemindar's opposition overcome, by the recognition of the Ryot's right to retain a profitable interest in the produce.

12. It is not clear how much of the rescinded provisions of Regulation V. of 1830 Mr. Beaufort proposes to re-enact ; I suppose only Section III., which embodies the offence amenable to the Magistrate ;

but this Section is confined to the omission to sow or cultivate Indigo, while in the second paragraph of his letter Mr. Beaufort speaks of the fraudulent transfer of a crop as if non-delivery were by the same Law a punishable offence. But it seems to me impossible that the Legislature should confine itself to the re-enactment of the rescinded provisions of Regulation V. of 1830. This would resemble far too closely the recognition of a *nudum pactum*, whereby all the obligation should be on one side and all the protection on the other. It seems to me that, in affording summary facilities for the cultivation of Indigo, we are bound to be satisfied, both that we do not aid blindly an unacceptable and inequitable engagement, and that the Planter should fulfil his part of the stipulation under the same penalties that we suspend over the Ryot. Let it be that the Ryot is bound to cultivate what he agrees to cultivate. But there is more to be seen than that : is his agreement free : is his advance fairly enjoyed by him : is he made to sow land measured by the common standard : and as to the delivery of his crop, shall he be required to deliver plant at the rate of four bundles for the Rupee, as accepted in one Factory, or six bundles to the Rupee as taken in another—an immense difference to the Ryot ; and who, under the provision of the Law, shall see which rate is most equitable, and that neither is exceeded ?

13. In fine, I think that those who are interested in the cultivation of Indigo should, for the legitimate promotion of their objects, look to the good-will and to the prosperity of the people, and not to the special encouragement and countenance of exceptional Laws.

From G. U. YULE, Esq., Officiating Judge of Rungpore, to A. W. RUSSELL, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 4, dated the 20th January, 1855.)\*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3079, of the 14th December last, with enclosures, requesting my opinion on Mr. Beaufort's suggestions regarding the re-enactment of a Law for summarily enforcing the performance of contracts entered into for the cultivation and delivery of Indigo.

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\* Selections XXXIII., pp. 58-61.

2. Granting that exceptional legislation of this nature, to the extent of rendering the breach of a civil contract punishable as a criminal offence, is allowable in certain cases, it is necessary, on asking for such legislation in any case, to show some good ground for departing from the general principle of Law ; and I do not think any such ground is shown by Mr. Beaufort. He states that the passing of the Law of 1830 probably saved Indigo property from utter destruction, yet that there were few complaints and convictions under it ; that it was supposed to have kept matters quiet ; no complaints were made against it, and its rescission (in 1835) has led to a full harvest of quarrels (paragraphs 4 and 5) ; that the Civil remedy being tedious and expensive is not had recourse to, physical force being found preferable (paragraph 7) ; that the Ryots can find no advantage in the breach of contract to which they are instigated by the Zemindars, and yet that these Ryots who are always glad to take advances have, reasonably or unreasonably, a great aversion to Indigo, believing that there are many crops which yield a more certain as well as a larger profit (paragraph 8) ; that the Ryot, backed by the Zemindars, does not cultivate, and the Planter to save himself must either use force or buy over the Zemindar and his agents, or take farms of the villages at losing jummas (paragraphs 9 and 10) ; that for the sake of peace, the Zemindar's exactions are generally consented to (paragraph 11) ; but some Zemindars are not to be so pacified (paragraph 12) ; and finally, that farms, even attended with a loss on the rent, are generally desirable on account of the profit accruing in freedom from quarrels, and in the power which a farmer has over the Ryots.

3. Without disputing any of these statements (though some of them certainly admit of dispute,) I may fairly say that there is nothing in them to show the specialty in Indigo contracts which renders a summary penal Law to enforce their execution more necessary than in the case of contracts for other products of the soil. The great crops of Bengal Rice, Sugar, Silk, Fibres, Oil-seeds, &c., are advanced upon to an extent to which Indigo advances can bear no comparison : the advancers would, doubtless, be glad of the aid of a summary Law, but still the Ryots generally fulfil their contracts without being compelled to do so either by bands of armed men or bribed Zemindars. I fully allow that the necessity of keeping up extensive buildings and a large establishment

renders a breach of contract by the Ryot more injurious to the Planter than it is to the advancer on produce which requires no manufactory process to profit it for the market, but that is no reason for changing the Law in his favour, and if it was, it applies to Silk, Sugar, Lac, and other branches of trade as well as Indigo planting. But in all these trades there is no general complaint that the Ryots will not fulfil their contracts; why should Indigo planting be an exception? I believe there is only one answer to that question, and that is in Mr. Beaufort's words, because the Ryots, reasonably or unreasonably, are averse to Indigo, believing that there are many other crops which yield a more certain as well as a better profit. I cannot account for the universal dislike shown to Indigo by the cultivators in any other way. I cannot show in figures that Indigo is less profitable than other crops. The Ryots believe that it is so, and they ought to know best. They take the advances under pressure of some kind or other, and having satisfied the present necessity, endeavour to escape from what they know to be a losing contract. The mere fact that an Indigo concern can afford to pay large sums to a Zemindar to induce him to refrain from opposition shows that there is not fair unconstrained dealing between the Planter and the Ryots. In the outset of a new speculation, the parties who first enter on it, or in case of a monopoly, the monopolists may make a profit far exceeding that of those with whom they deal, or the ordinary average of mercantile profits, but as soon as any branch of trade becomes open, and all are free to enter on or to refrain from it, the profits become pretty fairly equalized among all engaged in it: and no one will continue it who does not get a fair share; but here is a trade carried on for nearly a century, where one party is enabled by his profits to pay largely, in addition to a most expensive agency, one or more third persons, not for doing anything to help him, but merely that they may do nothing to oppose him, while the other party cannot be persuaded to remain in the trade by almost anything short of actual force. In buying off a Zemindar I consider the Planter simply purchases the power of turning his Ryots, so far as Indigo is concerned, into slaves, who are expected to work not only without any share in the profits of their work, but at a real loss, unless we are to deny to the Ryot the power of judging for himself as to what crop pays him best.

4. The Zemindars or their agents often doubtless encourage the evasion of Indigo contracts. They think the cultivation unprofitable to their Ryots, who they know detest it, and they dislike the influence which a Planter acquires in their estates, and the check which he more or less, according to his character, puts on their misdeeds; but I believe their general reason for opposition is, that they find it profitable; the Planter for his own interest must give them a share of the profits he makes out of the Ryots in their estates.

5. Formerly the unwilling Ryots were compelled to cultivate by the fear of violence: then it was found better to pay the Zemindar; now it is thought the Magistrate will be cheaper than either; but I trust no Law will ever be passed to increase the profits of Indigo planting by oppressing still more those who suffer enough already. I have had many intimate and most esteemed friends among the Planters, and have some still, and I like them as a class. I know they do not believe that the Ryot is unfairly treated, and it was with no pleasure that I long ago found myself forced to come to that conclusion.

6. I have omitted to mention a difference between contracts for Indigo plant and those for other produce, which may have some little effect in adding to the Ryot's dislike of Indigo: by the terms of an Indigo contract (I speak under correction), and, indeed, often by the very necessity of the case, the Ryot must give the whole of his Indigo plant to the Factory at the same fixed rate; in contracts for other produce the Ryot only agrees to repay the advance with interest, &c., in cash or in produce, at a fixed or the market rate, while all the surplus is his own to dispose of as he pleases.

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From C. STEER, Esq., Judge of Backergunge, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 31, dated the 7th February, 1855.)\*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3079, of the 14th December 1854, with its enclosures, relating to the expediency of re-enacting a Law for summarily enforcing the execution of contracts for the cultivation of Indigo.

2. I am utterly averse to the system of Indigo advances, as it now

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\* Selections XXXIII., pp. 67-69.

prevails, and consider that it should be discouraged rather than facilities should be given to extend it. None but a Planter would deny that the cultivation of Indigo was not profitable to the Ryot. Is it for Government to encourage such a system? Make the cultivation profitable, and the Ryots will of their own free will and accord, and without the enactment of special Laws, enter into contracts for the cultivation of Indigo as readily as they will any other sort of produce, and will be as little likely to break their contracts as they are when engaging for the cultivation of any other sort of produce.

3. Every honest Planter will admit that no Ryot will take an advance unless the is in the last extremity, and that none ever get out of the Planter's books who are once in them. The reason of this is plain,—Indigo cultivation is ruin to the Ryot. As well might Government give countenance and support to the usurious Mahajun as to the Planter, as he now deals with his cultivators. Both Planter and Mahajun act in the same way—Both take advantage of the Ryots' necessities, and both derive a usurious profit from their dealings. Let the Planters allow to the Ryots a fair share of the profits they themselves derive, and there will be no complaints that the Ryots are eternally breaking their contracts. The Natives are not slow in perceiving where their interest lies, and the Date cultivation is an example, how readily they will adopt the cultivation of an article from which a profit is likely to be gained, and they are not deterred by the knowledge that years will elapse before they obtain the slightest return. If the Ryot received from the Planter a price for the plant he delivers that would enable him to stand the loss of a bad season occasionally, he would with greater readiness cultivate Indigo than he now does the Date tree and the Sugar-cane, and it is solely because there is no reciprocity of advantage that the Indigo cultivation is so much detested. As the Planters then have it in their own power to remedy the evil they complain of, they should be told to apply that remedy; and a hateful and an unfair system, such as the system of advances now is, should never, in my opinion, meet with any support from Government.

4. It may well be questioned how far Indigo cultivation, carried on as it is now, is really beneficial to the country. A Planter spends a great deal of money; he gives employment to a great number of

persons ; his residence in the country is, in many, ways, beneficial to the neighbourhood in which he dwells—these are all obvious advantages ; and it is also very true that in Indigo Districts many a Zemindar gets a good rent for his Estate from the Planter, promptly paid, where he formerly found it difficult to collect a small and precarious rent. The profits to the Planter on his Indigo enable him to pay a rent above what he can himself collect. But if, as I have not the slightest doubt, that the Indigo has been obtained on a system ruinous to the Planter's tenants, then however valuable Indigo may be as an article of commerce, it would be better for the sake of the Ryots if there was not a stick of Indigo in the land.

5. So difficult is it to get lands for Indigo, that the Planter finds it necessary to admit into his partnership the lord of the soil. To him he gives in the shape of enhanced rent the profit for Indigo, which in fairness belongs to the Ryot ; and the Planters have only to give that share to the Ryot to make the cultivation of Indigo as popular as it is now the reverse, and they will then not need to lease lands at an unfair rate, only that they may have their Indigo cultivators more under their thumb.

6. As Planters *only*, Planters do not benefit the country. As Planters they certainly introduce a crop which is highly remunerative, but they take all the profit themselves, and keep the cultivators poorer than they would be if allowed to cultivate the poorest description of produce. Planters who are also Zemindars have two things to look to, their Indigo and their Ryots. These are the men whom we may look to be a real blessing to the country, for their interest as proprietors of the land makes them careful to protect the Ryots, and they cannot push Indigo cultivation to a ruinous extent as regards the Ryots, without suffering in a like degree themselves. In their hands, a Law making the breach of Indigo contracts criminal would be as little abused as it would be little used. But the Planter who only holds land that he may compel his tenants to raise Indigo for him, is not one whose power over the tenantry ought to be strengthened. He cultivates Indigo upon usury, and like every other usurer should be left to the remedy of the Civil Court.

7. It will not be deemed out of place to mention that I consulted Messrs. Hampton and Rcily on the subject of Mr. Beaufort's letter, as



they have both had considerable experience in Indigo Districts. Their opinions and those above expressed are identical.

From H. B. LAWFORD, ESQ., Officiating Magistrate of Nuddea, to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 31, dated the 12th January, 1855.)\*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular No. 3079, dated the 14th ultimo, and its enclosures.

2. In reply thereto, I beg to inform you that I consider that the re-enacting of the law for summarily enforcing the execution of contracts entered into for the cultivation and delivery of Indigo would be a beneficial measure, provided that a stringent Law were enacted to prevent its abuse, and to protect the cultivators of the plant.

3. Act V. of 1830, before the repeal of the two first Sections, was altogether in favour of the planter, and left the Ryot entirely at his mercy, for of course the planter could make the Ryot take advances to any amount, and after that have him punished in the event of his refusing to sow his land with Indigo.

4. Now there is no doubt that Ryots generally object to the cultivation of Indigo : in the first place, when the advances are given, the Ryot receives the money with his own hand, but before he has left the compound of the Factory, he has been mulcted of the best part of it by the Factory servants, so that he is not much better off when he leaves the Factory than when he entered it. I do not see how this can be put a stop to, for though many Planters make the advances to the Ryots with their own hands, they say that they know the Factory servants take a certain part for themselves from the Ryots immediately the money is paid.

5. Then again Indigo is not a crop which pays, as any honest Planter will allow, and very often, so far from paying, it is a dead loss to the Ryots ; this being the case, their antipathy to the crop is not to be wondered at ; moreover, if, in a bad season, the Ryot, who has received advances, cannot produce a sufficient crop of Indigo to cover those ad-

\* Selections XXXIII., pp. 74-76.

vances, the sum in which he is indebted to the Factory is carried on under the head of advances to him, although he may receive nothing at all.

6. This is, I think, exceedingly unjust, and in my opinion the Planter ought to have no claim whatever against the Ryot, after the Ryot has sown and delivered the crop of the specified quantity of land which he (the Ryot) agreed to sow.

7. It is not the Ryot's fault if the crop turn out a bad one, and if so, why should he be obliged to bear the burthen of the loss of it? If the Planter had sown and cultivated the Indigo himself, and an adequate crop had not been produced, the Planter would have had to bear the loss himself, and because the Ryot has sown the crop, why should he have to bear the loss for the Planter?

8. When Planters are asked why they do not take the cultivation of Indigo into their own hands, and do away with the system of advances, they will tell you that it would be impossible to attend properly to the operations of a large Concern. There may be some force in this argument, but I am quite sure that one reason for their disliking the cultivation is the knowledge that the loss in a bad season would fall on themselves instead of on the Ryots.

9. Then again many Planters, instead of apportioning a reasonable quantity of the Ryot's land for the cultivation of Indigo, will take a third or even a half of course. When this is the case the Ryot's time is almost wholly taken up with his Indigo crop, and as this does not pay him, he necessarily becomes a ruined man.

10. Now I know of one Concern in this District in which the manager only takes two beegahs out of thirty for the cultivation of Indigo. The loss of his Ryots on that crop, therefore, is so small, that it is scarcely felt by them, and it is a loss for which they are compensated by the protection afforded to them by the Factory. I do not mean to say that two beegahs out of thirty is the utmost that any Planter ought to be allowed to take, but if one man can make taking that quantity pay, no one ought, I think, to be allowed to take the excessive quantity which, as I have shown above, some are in the habit of taking.

11. There is no denying that the Planters require protection for their crops after they are sown, as the Zemindars are constantly stirring up

the Ryots to refuse to sow after they have taken advances ; and I think that the re-enacting of the two first Sections of Act V. of 1830 would be sufficient to protect their interests, though, at the same time, I think a Clause should be added to Section IV. of the Act (unrepealed) making it a misdemeanor for a man to plough up his own Indigo after he has taken advances for the crop ; for the present Law, as interpreted by the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, allows a Ryot to destroy his crop *himself*, after he has taken advances, and refers the Planter for redress to the Civil Court.

12. If a Law such as this be passed for the protection of the Planter, there should be a stringent one passed for the protection of the Ryot, one proviso of which should be, that no Planter should be allowed to take more than a certain proportion of the Ryot's land for the cultivation of Indigo. I imagine that it could be easily ascertained from the Planters themselves what a fair proportion is. If any Ryot chose voluntarily to take advances to sow more than the legal quantity of his land with Indigo, and afterwards refused to sow, the Criminal Courts should only be empowered to enforce the sowing of the legal quantity, and the Planter might sue the Ryot for any further claims against him in the Civil Courts. Without a proviso of this nature, an agreement would be taken from every Ryot to sow any quantity of land the Planter pleased, and the Law would thus become a dead letter.

13. Another feature of this Law should be, that if, owing to a bad season, or any other cause out of the control of the Ryot, the produce of the land which he had sown did not cover the advances which he had received, the Planter should have no claim against the Ryot on that account, it being manifestly more equitable that the loss consequent on a bad crop should be borne by the Planter than by the Ryot who was obliged to sow it for him.

14. If some such Law as this were passed for the protection of Planters and Ryots, Indigo cultivation would be more popular, I think, in the eyes of the people, and the protection afforded to the Planters would prevent many of the unseemly outbreaks which, at present, are of too frequent occurrence in the Mofussil.

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From the HON'BLE A. EDEN, Joint Magistrate of Baraset, to the Commissioner of the Nuddea Division,—(No. 500, dated the 19th June, 1858).\*

SIR,

IN reply to your letter No. 30, of the 17th ultimo, calling for a report on any disturbances connected with the sowing of Indigo which have occurred in my District during the last two seasons, I have the honour to report that, during the season of 1857, we had no dispute at all worth recording. There were a few misunderstandings between Mr. Hampton and his Ryots, which were all amicably settled.

This year there have been two disputes: I can hardly call them disturbances. The first was the Charchat case, which has been fully reported to you, and regarding which much correspondence has passed between us, and with respect to the rights of which case I believe we entertain very different opinions. It will suffice to say that a dispute arose between Mr. Larmour and his Ryots regarding his right as *dur-izaradar* on a short lease to measure the Ryots' lands with a view to increase their jumna.

The question, however, was settled out of Court by Mr. Larmour's agreeing not to measure if his Ryots would sow Indigo for him; both parties agreed, and the Ryots took advances from him. After they had done so, Mr. Larmour wished to get released from his part in the agreement, and appealed to you. The Ryots evidently thought this unfair, and complained to me. To punish them for complaining, Mr. Larmour's servants committed great oppression, marking all their best lands and levying cesses. A serious affray appeared to be impending. I deputed a Darogah to keep the peace. Mr. Larmour considered that this was equivalent to my preventing the Ryots from sowing, and complained to you to this effect. You appeared to be of his opinion, and directed me to the effect—"That the Darogah is not there to protect the Ryots any more than he was there to protect the farmer; the Ryots should be told authoritatively that they should fulfil their obligations, whatever they may be, and those who fail to do so will take the consequence."

2. I accordingly, in pursuance of your wishes, went to Charghat, and the Ryots sowed two beegahs for every plough they possessed without any disturbance.

3. The next case I reported to you in my letter No. 431, dated 7th June 1858, after investigating it myself in the Mofussil. This case might have led to a serious disturbance. The Baraset Indigo Concern has this year sown very much more than it has ever sown before for years without the slightest disturbance, until after the sowings were properly all over; then, from some unaccountable causes, Mr. Hampton sent his Sudder Zemindaree Amlah to sow the lands in villages with which the factory had had no dealings for years. These Amlah collected some 200 ploughs and ploughed up all the best lands of two villages—Rice crop included—and sowed Indigo: for the greater portion of these lands no attempt or excuse is made; for some of the lands claimants are brought forward from other villages, but the men do not make the slightest attempt to establish any claim; and three of these false claimants actually complained to me that they had been ordered to claim the lands under threats of a fine of 20 Rs. each, and applied for protection from my Court, as they did not wish to do so. The other claimants have all run away, and never came near me when I was in the Mofussil investigating the case. Mr. Cockburn, the Assistant, who in Mr. Hampton's absence acted for him, did not, I am bound to say, attempt to screen the factory people by any false witnesses or claims. He accompanied me over all the lands, and acknowledged that the oppression had been very great.

4. In one village the Ryots turned out and drove the factory people off the lands, and beat them slightly, and are charged with having confined two Police Burkundauzes. This latter fact, however, I do not credit. The Burkundauzes were helping the Factory, as the Police always do when deputed to keep the peace, and were in my opinion instigated to make this complaint by the Factory Amlah. However, I believe that in the crowd they took the Burkundauzes off to the village, and let them go again, their object being to induce them to give evidence on their side. I instructed the Ryots that they might do what they liked with the crop, with the exception of a small piece claimed by a man who says he has advances from the factory, but from the Mofussil investi-

gation I am satisfied that this man has nothing whatever to do with the lands. The case is now under investigation. The factory proceedings on this occasion will tend very much to reduce the factory sowings next year.

5. As regards the extract of your letter to Government, forwarded with the letter under reply, I beg to remark that, although in my opinion it is very objectionable that the Police and Criminal Courts should take cognizance of and have jurisdiction in mere mercantile transactions, such as enforcing the fulfilment of contracts to cultivate particular crops, yet the Planters would be entitled to ask for a more summary and satisfactory process than they have at present, if such a thing as a real *bond fide* contract to cultivate Indigo existed.

6. From information derived from Planters and Ryots of every District, regarding which I have had an opportunity of making inquiries, I am perfectly satisfied that contracts, *i. e.*, engagements voluntarily entered into by both parties for the purpose of mutual benefit, are almost entirely unknown. The manner in which the so-called contracts are made is as follows :—

The Blacksmith of each village furnishes the Planter with a list of every plough in the village. The owners of the ploughs are then sent for into the factory, and are informed that they will have to sow a certain amount of land, generally two beegahs for each plough. This estimate being made, each man receives two Rupees per beegah advance, whether willing or not ; from this two-annas are deducted, or, in some, cases subsequently charged to the Ryot's Indigo accounts for stamps. The Ryot then signs his name on stamped paper generally blank, and this is called a contract. No particular spot of land is mentioned even where the paper is filled up ; it is generally considered preferable by "high Planters" that the papers should be kept entirely blank, so that whenever the Ryot demurs to obey a factory order, he is brought to submission by a threat of filling up his stamped papers as a heavy promissory note. I have heard this threat made use of more than once myself.

7. The only men who ever go to the factories willingly for advances are those who go openly with the intention of defrauding either the Planter or the Ryot. These are the middlemen, generally prosperous Ryots who have a number of Jotedars under them. When in want of

money for a law-suit or any other purpose, they go to the Planter, who gives a large advance, but this man never sows a cottah of Indigo himself; he makes all his Jotedars sow five cottahs or a beegah, and thus produces the requisite quantity of plant, sends it all to the factory in his own name, and takes the price himself and never pays a farthing to the Jotedar who has actually grown the plant. The Planter never oppresses these men, as they have too much influence, and they are the only men who really ever make money from the factories, except the Amlah. In nearly every village in the Indigo-growing portion of this District one pucca house may be seen; the history of its owner will be nearly always found to be such as I have related above. There is another class who come for advances. These are men of notoriously bad character, whose sole intention is to get money to defraud the factory. If the Planter chooses to give advances to such men, he must run the risk without expecting aid of the Police. The Agra Bank or any other commercial house might as reasonably demand the assistance of the Police to recover money advanced without sufficient security.

8. I should quite agree with the remarks contained in your letter to Government if these contracts were willingly entered into, but as I am perfectly convinced that they are not, I think that the less summary the process to compel their fulfilment the better. If these contracts were willingly made by the Ryots, the Planter would have little cause to have recourse to any Court at all. The whole of the crops in Bengal are grown under advances, yet we never hear of the Mahajuns complaining that the Ryot wont sow his Rice, or Jute, or Tobacco crop; the reason is, that they sow their crop on what land they like, and sell it at the market price. Ryots have been known to get over 100 Rupees per beegah from their Tobacco crop this year. The average of an Indigo crop is 2 per beegah, that is, 10 bundles at 5 bundles for the Rupee; at the very highest rate known the crop never exceeds 25 bundles, which would give 5 Rupees, from which the advance, the price of seed and cultivation are to be deducted; for the price never varies; there is no market price. The mere fact of the way in which the Ryots deliver their plant when cut is sufficient to show the spirit in which it is sown. They never take it to the factory themselves. They cut it and send it in, and make no inquiries about it. They are quite indifferent as to what amount has

been credited to them. They know that if they have sent enough to pay their advances twice over, care will be taken to leave a balance in the favour of the factory, so that there will be a hold over them for the next year. The Planter's sole object is not to recover his advances, but to prevent their recovery. I believe that there is scarcely a Ryot in Bengal who would not pay up his advances to-morrow if it would exempt him from future cultivation of Indigo.

9. If the Planter was to pay a fair price for his plant, and one that would remunerate the Ryot, there is no reason why he should be less willing to sow this than any other crop : there is no crop that requires so little care ; it requires neither irrigation nor manure.

10. There are other reasons which render the cultivation of Indigo so unpopular, *viz.*, that the Ryot is constantly sent for to the factory regarding his Indigo ; if he does not bribe the Ameens, his Indigo is reported as dirty. Twenty or thirty Coolies are then sent to weed it, and the expense is charged to the Ryot's account : this is very unsatisfactory for the Ryots, but satisfactory for the planter. It increases the Ryot's debt, and is another link in his chains.

11. After he has made the so-called contract, the Ameens come to mark his land and enter it in the chitta. They of course choose the very best land the man possesses, and generally select one or two plots manured for Tobacco or else close to his house, to prevent which he has to pay the Ameen a bribe equal to three or four times the value of the Indigo he will grow. Again, although the Planter is generally the izaradar also, he never remits the rent of the land which is under cultivation for him, and he insists upon the Indigo land being changed every year, so that the same crop may not be sown on the same land twice running. All this annoys and irritates the Ryots.

12. If Planters want Indigo, they must make up their minds to pay for it. There is no reason that I can discover why a Planter should not take a jumma of each plot of land that he requires. This would settle all disputes at once ; the expense would be no more than it is now, as a stamped paper is taken every year from the Ryots ; but all such pottahs should be registered, and I think for Indigo contracts a lower rate of registration fee might be allowed, such as allowing the whole lands of a village to be registered in one paper. The cost would be tri-



fling, and the Ryot would not then deny that he had given the land and made a contract, but even then they would frequently have to make contracts under coercion : the Planter being also the landlord has the Ryots so entirely in his hands. The real cause of the oppression in Indigo cultivation arises from this combination. Again, the oppression of the factory servants is beyond description. They are generally selected for their unscrupulous character : very frequently a troublesome educated Ryot opposes the factory merely that he may obtain employment by being brought over with an appointment at the factory. He then turns against the Ryots whom he first instigated to opposition. Many of them are retired or discharged Mooktears employed for their known powers of chicanery and getting up cases, teaching false witnesses, &c. They are all underpaid, and it is an understood thing that they are to collect what they can from the Ryots. One of the great causes of complaint of the Charchat Ryots to Mr. Larmour was the gross oppression exercised by his Naib in collecting illegal cesses from them under the head of *parbunny*. Mr. Larmour refused altogether to entertain such complaints, as it was an established custom ; in fact, if the Ryots did not pay the servants, the factory would have to do so.

13. In Messrs. Watson's establishment it used to be and I believe is still, the custom only to pay servants' wages on the average of the crop ; thus, if the Indigo crop averaged six bundles per beegah, they received six months' pay ; eight bundles, eight months', &c. As the crop rarely exceeds ten bundles, the men scarcely ever receive a year's pay : they of course make the Ryots pay the difference. But perhaps the principal cause of disputes regarding sowing is the total inaccessibility of the Planter to the Ryot. In the greater number of the Factories of Bengal the Ryots can never go and complain to the Planter of the oppression of his subordinates. Every complaint comes through the Omlah, and the Planter is guided entirely by the Amlahs' report. The Planters are in the habit of expatiating on their superior knowledge of the condition and sentiments of the Bengalees from being so constantly in communication with them, but an inquiry would prove that, so far from this being the case, there is no class in India so inaccessible to their own Ryots as the Planters.

14. In fact the Ryots dare not go to a factory unless protected by a letter from the Magistrate. Ryots frequently come to me and ask

for a letter stating their cause of complaint, that they may thus get an interview with the Planter. Both in the Chorghat case and the Morukpore case alluded to above, before the dispute occurred, some of the principal Ryots came in each case and asked for letters to Messrs. Larmour and Hampton. In the first case they went to Muluath, and Mr. Larmour would not see them, although they had actually come to offer to sow Indigo for him : all he said was, " let the Ryots go home ; " as some of the Ryots afterwards said to me, " if he had only abused us, it would have been something." Mr. Hampton also believed his Naib's statement that the men I sent were turbulent characters, and instead of settling the dispute and sowing his Indigo quietly, he was led into the forcible sowing already reported. When I was at Chorghat, on the border of Nuddea District, a number of Ryots came to me and asked me to represent their case to the Magistrate of Nuddea. On asking them why they did not go into Nuddea or to Mr. Larmour, they said that they could not speak to Mr. Larmour if they went to him, and that the whole District belonged to him, and they could not get to Nuddea without being stopped and brought back by the factory servants. Of the merits of their cases I know nothing, as it was no part of my duty to inquire.

15. I think the present Laws are ample protection for the present system of cultivation, which deserves no protection. The reason why the Planters have not recourse to the Civil Courts is, that they have no proofs and no written *bond fide* contracts. The Baraset Concern professes to have advances due for many thousand Rupees, but they have no proof whatever in support of their claim. They have no one to blame but themselves that their accounts and settlements have been conducted in such a slovenly way. It appears to me outrageous that they should look to the Police to recover balances which they are unable to substantiate in a Court of justice, and it must be remembered that the present balances are all founded on these old arrears and their interest. On the sale of a factory these advances are not, I imagine, paid for by the new purchaser : he therefore has no claim on them. A very small portion of these balances of old advances are actual money paid by the factory : they arise from the system of making up accounts.

16. The Planters in general will, I believe, admit the hardship of the present system as regards the cultivator, and acknowledge that, if a

remunerative price were paid, the Ryots would willingly sow Indigo as they do other crops on advance received from the Native Mahajuns. But they argue that "if we were to pay a higher price, the Indigo would not pay, and if we did not give advances, we should have no hold over the Ryot, and he would take his plant into the market, and competition would then raise the price to such an extent, as would prevent the manufacture of Indigo being carried on." This is an evil that would in my opinion cure itself, for the Planter would not give a pice that would not remunerate him. The rise in price would therefore have a limit. But whether it pays or not appears to me a matter of secondary consideration. Government cannot be expected to keep up a system of forced cultivation and a forced market, to make the fortunes of a few hundred Europeans at the expense of millions of Natives. The question appears to resolve itself into this : Which is of the most importance, that a certain quantity of a particular blue dye should be annually exported, or that a great and daily increasing cause of discontent and misery to the whole agricultural population of Bengal should be removed? That this discontent is increasing, and is the constant topic of conversation amongst every class of Natives, cannot be denied by those who have an opportunity of judging of the real feelings of the Natives ; and I believe that this feeling has been very much enhanced by an idea that the Government is determined to uphold the Planter against the Ryot ; and I think that there is cause to view with considerable alarm the enactment of any measure which will encourage the belief that the Planter will be invested with more summary powers. If there is any difficulty in sowing Indigo in this country in a fair, honest, and legal way, it will be surely better that the cultivation of Indigo should be left for Africa and other countries, where it can be produced without oppressing the people. There is an ample field for speculators and capitalists to invest their money in other products in this country, which would mutually benefit them and the cultivators.

17. I quite think that some change in the Law is requisite, although I doubt whether it should be under present circumstances in favour of the Planter ; at present, as I pointed out in my report of the 17th May, 1858, the Magistrate is frequently placed in the awkward position of having to carry out the instructions of his executive superior by ignoring the rulings of his judicial superior.

18. In the case of Deputy Magistrate Abdool Lutceef, he endeavoured to protect some Ryots from having their lands forcibly sown by Mr. Larmour. Mr. Hope was directed to re-investigate, and reprimanded Moulyv Abdool Lutceef and punished the Ryots. Mr. Hope's decision was approved by Government, but upset, with severe animadversion, by the Judge.

19. You directed me, in the Charghat case, "to instruct the Ryots authoritatively that they should fulfil their obligations, whatever they may be, and those who fail to do so will take the consequences," which consequences, as far as my Court was concerned, were *nil*. My direct interference, therefore, could only be construed into an illegal attempt on the part of the Police to assist the Planter against the Ryot. By the Constructions 385, 661, the Nizamut Adawlut ruled that a Planter had no right "to demand the assistance of the Police for the purpose of compelling the Ryots to fulfil their contracts, and that their only remedy is in the Civil Court, and that the Magistrate cannot interfere in such cases." The only order which a Magistrate can give is to depute the Police to keep the peace, which may mean anything or nothing. Take for instance a case in which a Ryot wants to sow his Rice on a particular plot of land, in which the Planter wants to sow Indigo; the Darogah may keep the peace by letting the Planter sow, and keeping the Ryots quiet, or letting the Ryots sow and driving away the Planter's men, or preventing either party from sowing, and thus virtually attaching the land. Which ever he does, one party is sure to be dissatisfied, and there can be no doubt that the Ryot is the only party who really has a claim on the land. He may have contracted, either willingly or under compulsion, to sow a certain quantity of land for the Planter, but what land is not specified in the contract. The Planter may have selected this particular plot of land after the contract was made, and put his mark upon it; but he has no legal right to do so. Yet if the Darogah was to prevent him sowing, he would never hear the end of it.

A case under point is now before me. The Darogah of Hobrah was deputed by me to keep the peace between Mr. Hampton and the Ryots. Mr. Hampton's men came with some 200 ploughs, and ploughed up the Rice crop and sowed Indigo. The Darogah stood and looked on. On my going out and seeing the state of the case, and that these lands be-

longed to men who had nothing to do with the Factory, I reprimanded the Darogah for allowing them to be sown. He said, "what could I do?" I was ordered to keep the peace, not to inquire into the right of the factory to sow. I could keep the peace by keeping the Ryots quiet, but not by stopping the factory people; they threatened to sue me for every hour's delay in sowing the seed. I suspected they had no right to sow, but had no order to stop them if I thought they were acting illegally. I did not punish him, for I saw what a difficult position he was in, and I am aware that if he had stopped the sowing, the factory people would not have rested till they had ruined him.

21. Mr. Larinour complained to you that I had caused all his Ryots to refuse to sow, by saying that it was optional with them to sow or not, as they liked. You appeared to think that I had acted wrongly if I had done so. I never did do this, as I explained to you. But what can be said of a system, the consequence of which is, that such an expression should be able to stop the cultivation of a particular crop? I am aware that if I was to express such an opinion to the Ryots, it would tend to put a stop to the cultivation of Indigo. But it would take a great deal of positive force to dissuade them from sowing a cottah less Tobacco, Jute, or Rice, than they intended.

22. An honest, determined Committee of Inquiry would soon show that all I have stated is true, provided that a guarantee was given to the cultivators that measures would be taken to protect them for the future, otherwise they would only injure themselves by stating the truth, and would conceal their real condition through fear of the consequences.

23. You will excuse me if you consider that I have said more than is befitting an Officer holding the subordinate office that I do, but I think it is the duty of every man to give his opinion fully on so important a subject, even although it may be opposed to the expressed opinion of his superiors.

*P. S.*—Another reason suggests itself to me, why the Criminal Court should neither adjudicate summarily in questions of contracts to sow Indigo nor compel their enforcement.

Even supposing such contracts to be voluntary engagements, their non-fulfilment would not necessarily imply fraud. The Ryot might have taken the advance with the distinct intention of sowing the amount of

Indigo he engaged for, but by oppression of his Zemindar, or loss of his cattle, or other misfortune, be unable to carry out his intention without the slightest *mala fides*. It would be very unfair that he should be treated as a Criminal, and it would become a mere question of adjudication as to what amount of the advance and what interest he should return.

This, I apprehend, would only be decided as a Civil suit, and as such objections would in all probability be raised in every case of non-fulfilment of contracts, the Magistrate's Office would be converted into a Civil Court to adjust a question of damages.

From J. COCKBURN, ESQ., Dacoity Deputy Magistrate, in charge of the Jessore Office, to LORD H. U. BROWNE, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(dated the 31st December, 1859.)\*

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 7243, dated the 17th instant (received on the 24th), requesting me to state, for the information of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, my opinion, formed from experience, of the present system of Indigo cultivation, and to mention any facts illustrative of the system which may be within my knowledge.

In reply I beg to state that I have ever considered the present system a great mistake, but a mistake which, if any endeavour were made to rectify, would, I think, bring certain ruin on most Planters at the time, however well it may thereafter answer.

My experience has been derived from the system pursued in the District of Baraset, and the Kishnaghur factories bordering on it. I believe there is less of what is called "zooloom" there than anywhere else, for the Ryots are proverbially more independent about those parts than in any other part of Bengal.

There are two entirely different systems pursued in "Illaka" and "Bay Illaka" villages, in making advances for the cultivation of Indigo plant. In the latter generally it is a matter of choice; in the former it is compulsory. In a "Bay Illaka" village, or a few villages of the kind entirely surrounded by the Planter's "Illaka" ones, or if the Zemindar

were friendly to the Planter, of course choice would be out of the question, but a village or villages quite distinct and at some distance from the Planter's "Illaka," and the Zemindar of which favoured his Ryots, it would be impossible for the Planter to force advances on them, or even if they held former advances (which is often the case), to get them to settle their accounts. The most miserable and destitute of these men are those who come into the Factorics when in distress and beg for advances, fully resolved, when the time for sowing came, to evade any contract they may make (and in this they would to a certainty be backed up by the Zemindar). The Planter is fully aware of this, but his great object being to show an increasing cultivation on the books of the Factory, thereby increasing its value, he makes the advance trusting to his luck at some future time to prove in the Courts that his advance was taken voluntarily, and the contract entered into unfulfilled; and if an order can be procured from the Magistrate of the District to compel the Ryot to sow, or a Darogah is sent out to prevent a breach of the peace while the Planter is sowing his own lands (which is much the same thing), why, the lands of the Ryots who took advances are not only sown, but adjoining lands belonging to other "Bay Illaka" Ryots, who have never had advances, are at the same time finished off, the Darogah being present the whole time, and ready to report that no "zooloom" was committed in his presence! These Ryots, whose lands have thus been forcibly sown, seeing they have no help for it, come in afterwards and take the usual advance of 2 Rupees per beegah, thinking it just as well to get something for their lands at once, for they know full well that if they waited till the time of cutting and manufacturing, it is very little plant they would be credited with. This is the way cultivation originates generally in "Bay Illaka" villages.

There is another way also, which is this, and is common about the large Concerns in Kishnaghur and Jessore.

If a few "Bay Illaka" Ryots with small and unprofitable jummas can be persuaded to sell them to the Planter, he will pay them ten times the value of the jumma, as his object is only to get a footing at first in the village. As soon as he is in possession, he will sow the lands (which are intermixed with those of the other Ryots) with Indigo. This plant will be most carefully watched by his servants, four times as many servants

being often allowed for the protection of these lands than would be allowed for the same amount of land in any other part of the Concern, the object being to seize all cattle that may be found trespassing on or near the lands, and bring them into the Factory; this will necessarily bring in the owners of the cattle, who are willing enough to pay any fine the Planter may impose for damage done his plant, but this is not what he (Planter) wants. The cattle are not released till the Ryots, knowing full well what is required, at last agree to sow a few beegahs of Indigo, but without taking advances: this is agreed to and the cattle released (or, perhaps, they may be confined till the lands are sown). This being done they are for the future Factory Ryots, for at the end of the year whatever the produce of the lands may be, still the Ryots will find that they owe the Factory something upon which an account is at once opened, and they and their successors booked for ever. It does not require a particularly sharp Mohurrir to manufacture such an account.

In an "Illaka" village it is quite a different thing: the method there adopted is summary and refreshing.

Immediately a Planter gets the *izara* of a village, his principal object is to ascertain how many ploughs it contains (two beegahs to a plough being the lowest allowance). Of course, if he sent his servants from house to house to ascertain how many ploughs each Ryot possessed, his return would be decidedly erroneous and much below the correct number, for the ploughs would be concealed at the bottoms of tanks, or sent away to some adjacent "Bay Illaka" village, or disposed of in some other way till the inquiry ceased; then at the time of ploughing and sowing, when they would be reproduced, a few annas judiciously applied would blind the Factory servants more effectually. The Planter knowing this adopts a certain and satisfactory means of obtaining the information he requires by at once seizing and bringing into the Factory the village Blacksmith. He of course has had the making and repairing of every ploughshare in the village, is paid annually a certain sum by each Ryot (in money or grain) for every plough in use throughout the year, and can tell exactly how many each man has.

Another person sent in for at the same time is the village Barber, but this is merely to bind him down to report the marriages which occur in the village, as on the marriage of a girl the Izzadar gets a



nuzzer called "Bâtec Salancee" of 3 Rupees, and on that of a boy 1 Rupee; however, this has nothing to do with the cultivation of Indigo plant, and is exacted by all Zemindars.

The information relative to the ploughs being obtained, the Ryots are sent in for and an advance of 2 Rupees per beegah, at the rate of *at least* two beegahs (and sometimes six beegahs) per plough is made them; their signature (if they can write, if not, they simply touch the pen) is taken to a blank Stamp paper, the value of which (2 or 4 annas, as the case may be) is added to the amount advanced (I mean to their account). The Amceens and Kalashcees then go to the fields and put the factory mark on the best lands (unless bribed), which may have been reserved and manured for months for the cultivation of a remunerative crop, and certainly not Indigo, which cannot pay, as I shall show.

The Ryot gets a nominal advance of 2 Rupees per beegah. I say nominal, because, after he has made the usual present to the Amlah, &c., there is very little of the 2 Rupees left; but say he gets his 2 Rupees, at the end of a good season his account per beegah would stand so:—

|                                                                   |     |     |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| A beegah of the very best plant, 20 bundles, at 5                 |     |     |              |
| bundles for the Rupee                                             | ... | ... | Rs. 4 0 0    |
| Deduct expenses incurred by Ryot in cultivating that same beegah— |     |     |              |
| Stamp Paper                                                       | ... | ... | 0 2 0        |
| 1. Seed                                                           | ... | ... | 0 10 0       |
| 2. Five Ploughs                                                   | ... | ... | 0 10 0       |
| 3. Sowing charges                                                 | ... | ... | 0 3 0        |
| Weeding ditto                                                     | ... | ... | 0 6 0        |
| 4. Cutting ditto                                                  | ... | ... | 0 4 0        |
| 5. Rent of Land                                                   | ... | ... | 1 0 0        |
|                                                                   |     |     | <hr/> 3 3 0  |
| 6. Balance in favour of Ryot                                      | ... | ... | <hr/> 0 13 0 |

1. Whatever the price of seed may be, the Ryot is always charged at the rate of 10 annas per beegah.

2. Lands that have grown a previous crop, and are consequently partially broken up, require to be ploughed at least five times before

being sown. Ploughs are generally hired at the rate of eight for the Rupee.

3. This is the cost of one plough required at the time of sowing, previous to the seed being thrown into the ground, as also the cost of a *bashee* or bamboo ladder, which is drawn over the land by bullocks after it has been sown, and the cost of the hire of which is one anna.

4. It requires three labourers to cut a beegah of good plant in one day; this (if the Ryot is unwilling to do it himself) is accomplished by the Factory Coolies, who are paid at the rate of 2-8 a month each.

5. This is supposing the rent of the land to be 1-8 per annum. The first six months of the Bengalee year (that is, from Bysack to Assin) are supposed to yield the most profitable crop to the Ryot (this is the season for Indigo), and the Zemindar invariably receives two-thirds of the annual rent for that period. If a Ryot rented a beegah of land, the rent of which was 1-8 per annum, for only the latter six months of the year, he would pay the Zemindar only eight annas, the crops raised in those six months being considered far less valuable than those capable of being raised in the previous six months.

6. It must not, however, be supposed for a moment that the Ryot receives these thirteen annas! Having been paid four Rupees for his plant, the Amlahs are entitled to two annas on each Rupee, which reduces his profits to five annas, and from this he has still to fee the Ameen, Kalashee, &c.

The amount of the original advance is never deducted from the value of the plant, if by so doing it releases the Ryot from his liability to the Factory; but the value of plant is paid him in full, and the original advance still stands against him on the Factory books.

Every Planter, on the above account being shown him, would select some different item to object to. One would say I never charge a pice for weeding, because I never have it done. I grant some lands, especially about Kishnaghur, don't require weeding—the land is so favourable

to the growth of Indigo, that, in spite of grass, &c., it grows luxuriantly ; but if they deduct the amount stated by me (6 annas), they should be asked to state what the Ryot is charged for the carriage of Indigo plant to the vats. This is paid by some Factories, but in many the Ryot has to pay for the conveyance of his plant. Again, on those lands where weeding is not necessary, the Ryot loses quite as much or more than would have been debited him for weeding expenses, from the loss sustained in rent ; for lands on which weeds and grass are not found must have undergone great cultivation, are superior lands and rented accordingly.

I may here add, that in Factories not situated on rivers or lakes, and to the vats of which plant cannot be conveyed but by carts and bullocks, the Ryots are even greater sufferers than where water carriage is available, for this reason that, during the manufacturing season, Mofussil roads (where there are such things) are in a fearful condition, and the damage done their carts and bullocks is very considerable. They are paid at the rate of five Rupees per 100 bundles ; and when one comes to think that a cart cannot possibly bring in more than four bundles at a time, which, by Factory measurement, come to two or two-and-a-half bundles, and that a bullock never brings in more than three-fourths of a bundle at a time, and that perhaps the plant is being brought in from lands two or three miles distant from the vats, and from which more than two loads cannot possibly be brought in a day, profit is a thing not even to be hinted at.

Another Planter will say that a beegah of good plant will yield from twenty-five to thirty bundles ; but they would find it difficult to show by their books that a Ryot was ever credited with that amount of bundles to the beegah. During the whole period of my experience I never saw a beegah yield above twenty bundles, and that *very* seldom.

An average of ten bundles to the beegah is thought a first-rate season ; the general average in most good Concerns is eight bundles.

When plant is sufficiently high to calculate the probable amount of bundles each beegah will cut, an average statement, called a *Coot*, is made, in which the lands are divided into first, second, third, and fourth quality.

The *Coot* of a thousand (1,000) beegahs of good plant would stand so :-

*"Coot" of 1,000 beegahs of good Plant.*

|                                                      |              |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| First quality lands, which are expected to yield 20  |              |
| bundles per beegah ... ..                            | 250 beegahs. |
| Second quality lands, which are expected to yield 12 |              |
| bundles per beegah ... ..                            | 300 "        |
| Third quality lands, which are expected to yield 7   |              |
| bundles per beegah ... ..                            | 250 "        |
| Fourth quality lands, which are expected to yield 3  |              |
| bundles per beegah ... ..                            | 50 "         |
| <hr/>                                                |              |
| Total ...                                            | 850 beegahs. |
| <hr/>                                                |              |

The other 150 beegahs would have nothing fit to calculate, and would be entered as *Looksen*, or loss.

I should mention, however, that the books of my own late Factories would show a Ryot who held an advance of 10 beegahs credited with 400 bundles in one season ! But then that Ryot was also the Gomashta of the Factory, and cut every other Ryot a few bundles, which he added, to his own account. The Gomashtas and their relatives (if Ryots) make of course a profit. No Ryot, I am certain (by honest means), yet made a profit by cultivating Indigo under the present system.

Some Planter may, to confound me and confute the above statement request Government to depute one of their servants to the Concern nearest Calcutta, *viz.*, Baraset. Here it is true that in nearly every village he will show a *pucka* upper-roomed house, surrounded with "Golas," and every other sign of affluence, belonging to the headman of the village, and that same headman will allow that he made all his wealth by the cultivation of Indigo ; but then the question is how ? His word must be taken for it ; he has no books or accounts to support his statement beyond those of the Factory which are so much waste paper so far as the actual truth is concerned. Call on any Mohurrir of any Factory to swear to the truth of any such account written by him and he is certain to raise an objection.

The way these headmen have made their money is this: They hold an extensive jumma in the village, which they let out in small portions to the poorer Ryots, who consequently become their "*Jotedars*."

At the time the advances are being made at the Factory, this headman goes in and says, "I will get you sown 100 beegahs in my village;" such and such a Ryot will sow so much, another so much, and so on. The advances are written off in the names of those Ryots, and the headman receives the money! When he gets back to his village he sends in for his "*Jotedars*," informs them that each man is to sow a certain quantity of Indigo for *him*, and perhaps, if in a particularly generous mood, he lets one off an old debt of a few seers of paddy (for he is their Mahajun also), or gives another 8 annas, and so on. The lands are sown, and the plant when cut and taken into the Factory is accompanied by the headman, who dictates to the "*Amdunee Nobeesk*" (or mohurrir, who writes the plant account) what number of bundles he is to credit each man with, and what number himself (headman). This is the only way in which the cultivation of Indigo pays the Ryot.

The most convincing proof that Indigo honestly cultivated is an unprofitable crop, and that the expenditure is by no means covered by the returns, is evident from the fact that most Concerns have altogether discontinued or considerably reduced their Neezabad sowings. I mean the Neezabad that requires actual cultivation, not Churs!

Where it is still carried on, the cost per beegah (*exclusive* of ground rent and price of seed) is never under

|                 |      |   |    |   |                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------|------|---|----|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| First "Copance" | Ris. | 1 | 4  | 0 | 3-4, <i>vide</i> margin.                                                                                                                              |
| Second ditto    | "    | 0 | 10 | 0 |                                                                                                                                                       |
| Four Ploughs    | "    | 0 | 8  | 0 | I have put weeding down at 6 annas per beegah here, as also in a former part of this letter; but I don't mean to say that is what it really costs. It |
| Sowing expenses | "    | 0 | 3  | 0 |                                                                                                                                                       |
| Weeding         | "    | 0 | 6  | 9 |                                                                                                                                                       |
| Cutting         | "    | 0 | 4  | 4 |                                                                                                                                                       |

depends on the description of land, and may cost labour equivalent to 2 Rupees per beegah; but 6 annas is the average of what a Ryot generally gets to procure extra hands and get his lands cleared rapidly; his own labour is in no case considered.

The books of some Factories may show a profitable Neez account, in fact, they generally do, but they are never to be depended upon, the object of the Amlah being to show that this cultivation pays, for this

reason that, in consequence, a deal of money passes through their hands the dishonest expenditure of which cannot easily be perceived ; they consequently screw the Ryots, and add a few of their bundles to the Neez account, showing thereby each beegah to have cut some extraordinary number of bundles. Besides, Neez bundles are measured fairly, that is, the measuring chain is put over the middle of the plant, whereas Ryotty plant is invariably measured with the stocks protruding on each side of the bundle, the soft or leaf part of the plant being in the centre, over which the chain being passed with the whole strength of one of the strongest of the Factory servants, the leaves and soft branches are compressed, and what with fair measurement would be two bundles, or a bundle-and-a-half, or perhaps more, is put down at one bundle !

I believe, however, I have far exceeded the limits it was intended, that I should have confined himself to. I beg to apologize for having done so, but cannot conclude without saying this, that the Ryots of a European Indigo Planter are far better situated than those of a Native Zemindar who works his own Factories. These latter never receive a pice of advances, are never paid either the value of their plant or the amount expended in conveying it to the Factory. The only expense to the Zemindar is the price of seed (and a few of them keep a Manager; whom of course they must pay) ; beyond this, and the cost of packing and conveying to Calcutta, I don't believe they expend a single pice ! This I have witnessed with my own eyes, for I was surrounded by Native Factories, and saw for years the system they were carried on under.

Again, most European Planters listen to the complaints of their Ryots and if they don't afford them redress, still the Bengal Ryot is generally quite satisfied if he can only get at his "*Monceh*," and relate his grievances in his loudest voice. He can then go back to his village and brag about the friendly way he was treated, and this no doubt keeps the lower Factory servants somewhat in cheek. But it is next to impossible for the Ryot of a Native Zemindar to get to him. In the first place he generally resides miles away, or in quite a different District from his Factories, and an ordinary Ryot cannot afford the time the journey there and back would occupy ; besides, no Ryot would attempt to face his Zemindar without a Rupee in his hand as a *Nuzzer*. If he was fool

enough to present himself without this necessary article, the result would undoubtedly be a shoe-beating and a summary ejection ; in fact, it would be next to impossible for him to get to his Zemindar without previously feeing the Amlah, and showing them that he had the necessary *Nuzzer* about him. And most Ryots cannot afford this expensive style of visiting.

Whatever Acts may be passed for the protection of the Bengal Ryot will only affect the most blameless of Planters, and those in whose Concerns there is the least "zooloom." I allude to those Planters who have no zemindary, &c., and who are consequently obliged to be more just and conceding in their dealings with their Ryots. Those, on the contrary, who have zemindary, &c., will laugh at any Laws that may aim at a reform in the present system, not that they would openly resist them, but that the Law could never be brought to bear upon them, for this simple reason, that no Ryot of theirs would dare to put himself under its protection, while his jumma, and in fact all he possessed in this world, were in the hands of the Planter.

From W. DAMPIER, ESQ., Commissioner of the Patna Division, to W. GREY, ESQ., Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 1197, dated the 18th January, 1855.) \*

\* \* \* \* The entire system of advances in Bengal, as described in the preamble to Regulation VI. of 1823, is an evil one, and I can see no more reason for declaring a breach of contract for the cultivation of Indigo punishable as a criminal offence, than for declaring the same punishment for the breach of contract for the cultivation of any other produce.

I have always understood that the cultivation of Indigo was not generally remunerative to the Ryots, and might be considered more or less compulsory. The advances are sometimes as recklessly given as received, the Planter trusting to his own means of enforcing the cultivation, which he knows the Ryot will, if possible, evade. It would be almost impracticable, as proposed by Mr. Beaufort, to separate the Hal from the Bakya advance. Factories are worked on the outstanding balances with addi-

tional advances, and the result of Mr. Beaufort's plan would be, in the Ryots being annually made to give an acknowledgment of having received the whole sum Hal and Bakya.

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From ROBERT FORBES, Esq., Civil and Sessions Judge of Tirhoot, to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 8, dated the 10th January, 1855.) \*

3. IN this Zillah, one of the chief, if not the chief Indigo District in the country, it is rarely the practice of the Planters to enter into Indigo contracts with Ryots, as they ordinarily grow Indigo, and compel or induce its cultivation as Maliks or Thikadars, or themselves cultivate it in home farms ; and I can see no such analogy between a contract for service (a breach of which is criminally punishable under Regulation VII. 1819) and a contract for Indigo, that because the former is cognizable by a Magistrate, the latter should be so also ! A contract for Indigo is to all intents and purposes just as much a civil contract as a contract for Grain or Sugar, and I am of opinion that a summary civil process is in justice amply sufficient for the Planter, and that to give him a criminal remedy in addition would be arming him with too great an advantage, contrary to the spirit of all Law, and leaving the Ryot one remedy less than his more powerful opponent.

4. If a Planter is guilty of a breach of any *civil* contract with a Ryot, the latter has no remedy in the *criminal*, and can only go to the *Civil* Court, and as the Law now stands, the summary Civil process makes the Planter equal to the Zemindar suing for rent, already considered too strong in that respect.

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From H. ATHERTON, Esq., Officiating Judge of Sarun, to A. W. RUSSELL, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 41, dated the 2nd February, 1855.) †

3. \* \* \* \* I deny that Indigo cultivation does the Ryot any good, and I maintain that, until it be provided that Indigo cultivation is

\* Selections XXXIII., p. 48.

† Selections XXXIII., p. 66.



specially advantageous to the cultivator, special Laws for the enforcement of contracts for Indigo cultivation cannot justly be enacted.

4. I hold the Indigo cultivation, carried on as it usually is in Bengal, to be a forced cultivation, and this I consider to be proved by the admission of every planter and of every other person I have ever conversed with on the subject ; that no Ryot, receiving an advance of say 10 Rupees, would for his own profit grow Indigo if allowed to grow any other crop. Mr. Beaufort himself, in the 8th paragraph of his report, allows that the " Ryot has a great aversion to Indigo," and why is this, but that the Ryot knows Indigo is not a paying crop ! He will readily take the Planter's money when he can get it, just as the Planters themselves and their masters some years ago took money from the Union Bank, but then having secured the cash, he will endeavour to evade a losing bargain, because he feels that the honest performance of the contract will profit him nothing ; and this is the reason, and the only reason, why the Ryot having taken the Planter's money is so easily led away by the Zemindar or other party instigating him to the breach of his engagement. But is the Planter deserving of pity ?—certainly not. He knows beforehand that nine Ryots out of ten with whom he deals are rogues, that they will cheat him if they can ; and he has therefore only to blame himself for putting himself in their power. He can easily protect himself. He has simply to keep his money in his own pocket, and to hire land where he can get it, and to carry on the Indigo cultivation by hired labour, if he thinks the cultivation will pay him. His case no more calls for any special protection on the part of the Government than does that of the Native Mahajun who advances money for Rice or Sugar-cane.

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From J. H. MANGLES, ESQ., Officiating Joint Magistrate of Baraset, to the Commissioner of the Nuddea Division,—(No. 376, dated the 30th June, 1856.) \*

5. \* \* \* \* I am fully impressed with the conviction that the present system of Indigo planting is in most cases forced and unnatural, and that it cannot act otherwise than oppressively towards the cultiva-

tors of the soil. It may be, and no doubt is, probable that in the majority of cases the operation of this system is and will be borne with the apathy characteristic of the country, but occasions will of course occur when the resistance of oppression by violence will give rise to very serious breaches of the peace.

6. It is extremely doubtful, I think, whether any new enactment could effectually check the evil I complain of. The vicinity of justice would undoubtedly be more effectual than any other remedy, and I cannot help thinking that the cheap justice at every man's door which Indigo Planters are always calling for, would in a short time almost entirely destroy the whole present system of cultivation. I most readily, however, acquit the majority of European Planters of any active participation in the oppression which goes on under the authority of their names, but they know that they must wink at it to a certain extent, and by trusting their Gomashtas, &c., far too implicitly, lay temptations in their way to carry it far beyond what they even suspect, or, if they did, would tolerate.

7. \* \* \* \* I am fully convinced that here, and especially in the Hobrah case, a forced system alone keeps a plant of Indigo in the country. A year or two ago the Zemindar who, according to Mr. Hampton, is stirring up the Ryots not to sow for him, had a Factory of his own. He has now given it up, and I am informed that the Ryots pay him yearly a large sum not to revive it. I doubt very much whether, when Indigo is grown, the Ryots even get a full *quid pro quo* at all on any pre-arranged, however reduced, rate. But supposing thus much, the rate is never viewed as advantageous to them, because far below the rate of profit attainable from other crops. As long as this remains so, and Mr. Hampton, with whom I spoke on the subject, allowed the latter part of my remark to be true, it is folly to say that the system must not be essentially a forced one.

8. Indigo Planters, I know, constantly lay stress on the apparent greater well-being of Ryots on Indigo estates, as compared with those under the ordinary Zemindars. It may be quite true what they say, and yet my position that planting is forced remain as I have stated it. Zemindars, we are all aware, are habitually guilty of frightful oppression

and extortion. Although I admit then that Indigo Planters are not so bad masters as they are, a very wide margin of exaction is still quite consistent with the admission. It is very little to say that English gentlemen treat their Ryots not quite so badly as ignorant and half savage Natives, proverbially unworthy of their positions. Government has surely a right to expect that the deference between the two shall be far more striking and positive ; but this as long as Indigo Planters' servants plunder the Ryots' houses, or drive off their cattle, or illegally imprison their persons, can never be.

From the LIEUT.-GOVERNOR of BENGAL, to A. SCONCE, ESQ., Legislative Member for Bengal,—(Belvidere, dated the 23rd March, 1860.) \*

I AM myself of the opinion that the Indigo cultivators have, and long have had, great and increasing ground of just complaint against the whole system of Indigo cultivation. But if they desired to break off their connection with that system, they should have done so before receiving the season's advances. After working off existing engagements, for which they have received the usual advance, they will have it in their power honestly to refuse to grow another plant of Indigo unless it is made for their own interest to do so. It will be monstrous if they are not allowed, not merely by the theory of the Law, but in effect, to exercise their legal and moral right in this matter. But they have, in my opinion, no moral right, and certainly they have no legal right, to turn suddenly round upon the Planters, and with nothing to complain of now, more than they had before, to refuse to do what up to this moment they have led the Planters to expect that they would do according to custom and agreement. I conceive, that whether the custom is good or bad, and whether the agreement on the Ryot's part be provident or improvident, and whether the general position of the Ryot who grows Indigo be or be not, for the time being, one of great hardship, no individual Ryot has a moral right to break his agreement. And still less can I think that a mass of Ryots who have agreed, and accepted advances in the usual manner, have any moral right to combine for the purpose of simultaneously breaking their agreements in order to ruin

the other party. Against such a combination,—and for the purpose of saving from ruin, if possible, a great commercial interest, which, however false its position may long have been, has certainly done nothing to the injury of the Ryot since the last advances were made and accepted in usual course a few weeks ago,—it appears to me that a law giving a very summary but still a fair trial, and inflicting penal damages on the party who after a fair trial is found to be determined wilfully to break his engagements, is both justifiable and proper. The Draft of a Law which I enclose does no more than this, but I am of opinion that no Law that could be framed regarding Indigo Planting at the present moment should be more than temporary. Especially, I think that no Law in the interest of the Planter could, at the present moment, be honestly proposed which should have any effect beyond the season now running on. We all of us know that the system is full of abuses. If we had never heard a word about Indigo Planting since we arrived in India; if there was not upon record a single case of abuse, on the part of an Indigo Planter or a Zemindar (and in this respect I desire to draw no invidious distinction between one class and another), the mere fact of the existence of the present difficulty would in itself prove that the system is rotten, and that the rottenness consists in this, that in practice the Ryot is made to act like a slave, not like a free man. Under a wholesome and fair system of trade there must be in all dealings between two parties mutual gain, or at least the hope of mutual gain, and both parties to every dealing must be free agents. If, therefore, the Indigo Planting trade were in a wholesome and fair state, and an equal Law were practically applicable to the rich and to the poor in dealings between Planter and Ryot, it is certain that the Ryot would be as much afraid of the manufacturer not buying his plant, as clamorous for a special Law on his side, as the manufacturer is afraid that the Ryot will not cultivate and supply him with enough of the plant, and clamorous for special Law on his side. We see that the present struggle on the part of the Ryots is to avoid the cultivation of Indigo. From this it is certain that Ryots who cultivate Indigo are forced to do so by illegitimate coercion. The same men who fight for the privilege of cultivating a field with Rice, for sale in the open market,

are now almost in rebellion in order to escape the calamity of cultivating a field with Indigo for sale (if sale it can be called) to the Planter.

There must be a thorough inquiry into the whole system. There would have been such an inquiry long ago, I believe, if people had not been afraid of bringing on such a crisis as has now occurred. The system was such, that sooner or later a crisis was certain ; it has now come in the natural course of things, and there is no longer an excuse for shirking the disclosure of the disease, and the application of the remedy. For these reasons I could recommend no Law other than a temporary Law, and no Law of any sort unless its promulgation to the Ryots may be accompanied with a promise of full and thorough inquiry into past practice, and thereafter of a well considered Law which shall afford practically equal and complete protection to the Ryots as well as to the Planter.

# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

## THE INDIGO COMMISSION

IN CALCUTTA.

Saturday, 21st July, 1860

PRESENT:

W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., C. S., *President*.

*Members:*

R. Temple, Esq., C. S.

Reverend J. Sale.

W. F. Fergusson, Esq.

Baboo Chunder Mohun Chatterjee.

The Hon'ble *Ashley Eden*, at present Magistrate, Collector, and Salt Agent, Cuttack.\*

3571. *President.*] Will you state to the Commission the districts and appointments in which you have had experience?—I was first appointed Assistant Magistrate and Collector of Rajshahye, and, for a short time, had charge of the Sub-division of Netro in that district. I was then appointed to the Sub-division of Aurangabad in the district of Moorsshedabad. I was then employed on special duty, and then made Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and was next appointed to be Magistrate and Collector of Baraset. Then I officiated as Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and this year I joined my appointment as Officiating Magistrate and Collector and Salt Agent of Cuttack.

\* Mr. Eden was then acting as Officiating Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

3572. During the time you held these appointments, did you endeavour to mix familiarly with the people, and had you frequent opportunities of ascertaining the working of the Indigo system?—Yes, I always endeavoured to mix as much as I could with the people, to ascertain their views upon all subjects, and, in the districts of Rajshahye, Moorsshedabad, and Baraset, I had ample opportunities of ascertaining, both from the natives and the planters, the working of the system.

3573. Do you hold the opinion that that cultivation is the result of free agency on the part of the ryots, or that it is in a great measure compulsory?—My opinion is, that with the exception of factories which have a large extent of *chaur* lands cultivated, it is in no instance the result of free agency, but that it is always compulsory.

3574. Will you state to the Commission as fully as you can, the facts, proofs, or reasons which have induced you to hold this belief?—*First*, I believe it to be unprofitable, and therefore I cannot believe that any ryot would consent to take up that cultivation, involving as it does serious pecuniary loss to himself; *secondly*, it involves an amount of harassing interference to which no free agent would subject himself; *thirdly*, from a consideration of the acts of violence to which the Planters have throughout been compelled to resort to keep up this cultivation as proved by the Criminal Records of Bengal; *fourthly*, from the admissions of the planters themselves that if the ryots were free agents, they would not cultivate Indigo; *fifthly*, the necessity under which the planters state themselves to be of spending large sums in the purchase of zemindaries and other descriptions of rights, giving them territorial influence and powers of compulsion, without which they would be unable to procure the cultivation of Indigo; *sixthly*, the statements of ryots and the people generally in the districts in which I have been; *seventhly*, the fact that, as soon as the ryots became aware of the fact that they were by law and practically free agents, they at once refused to continue the cultivation.

3575. Can you point to any particular records, printed or other, in support of your assertion regarding acts of violence?—I beg to hand in an abstract of forty-nine serious cases of murder, homicide, riot, arson, dacoity, plunder, and kidnapping, which have occurred from the year 1830 to 1859, some of which I have taken from records which came before me

during my incumbency\*, others from printed Nizamut reports, and all from authenticated papers. I also give a file of heinous cases connected with the cultivation of Indigo, which occurred previous to the year 1810, with a view of showing, that on the commencement of the system of private trade in the interior of the country, these acts of violence were resorted to, and in consequence of those acts, five Europeans were punished, and deported from the country, and the Government, in a Circular Order of the 20th July, 1810, considered it necessary to warn the Magistrates, to check the system of forcing the cultivation by means of advances on ryots. This last statement I have derived from a printed Parliamentary Report of 1820, on the occasion when the Directors of the Company were charged with impeding the settlement of Europeans. The great majority of the cases in the first list filed have occurred within the last ten years.

3576 Could you state how many of the above cases came under your personal observation as Magistrate?—Under my own actual observation I only remember two cases of those noted in the list. One was the case of kidnapping in Shanpore Factory, Bansbaru in the Rajshahye District, in which one man was confined and died in the godown, and his body was thrown by the factory servants, and sunk by means of bags of bricks, in a *heel*. This I know from having been assistant to the Magistrate who tried the case, and being acquainted with the parties concerned in it. The native servants of the factory were punished by the Judge, but were released by the Nizamut who ruled, that although there was no doubt the man had met his death whilst confined in the godown, yet that there was no distinct proof of the precise means by which he met his death, and therefore they merely punished those who were engaged in concealing the body. Another case mentioned there which I myself investigated, was a case in which the servants of the Holna Factory went with a large party of ploughmen and ploughs, and ploughed up about 125 beegahs of the ryots cultivation, and sowed Indigo on the land. I imprisoned the factory people, and was reprimanded for leniency, and for having shown a prejudice in favour of the planters. Another case which I want to mention, which though within my own knowledge, is not contained in the list, was, that, when I went to the



Aurangabad sub-division, I found that it was the custom to carry off the cattle of the ryots who would not sow indigo. It having been brought to my notice that a great deal of suffering was occasioned to the ryots, by the sale of their cattle in the previous year, I instituted enquiries, and having ascertained one of the places in which the cattle were kept, I sent out a party of police, and released from one of the out-factories about two or three hundred head of cattle which even when brought to my own house, the ryots through fear of the planter were afraid, for several days, to come forward and claim.

3577. What was the distance of the Sub-division from the head quarters of the factory, and why was the Sub-division established there?—The Assistant Magistrate's residence was between fifty and one hundred yards from the factory, and the Sub-division was established partly on account of the disputes between Messrs. Lyon and White on the one part, and Mr. David Andrew on the other; and partly on account of the number of complaints which came from that quarter, of the oppression to which the people were subjected by the servants of the factories. On joining the Sub-division, the head-quarter house was not being yet erected, and not knowing the causes which led to the selection of that site, I recommended its removal to the town of Junghypore, which was the principal *entrepôt* of trade in that part of the country. On going to Aurungabad great objections were raised by the planters, however, to the selection of a site so close to the factory, on the grounds that the Magistrate's Court would interfere with the business of the factory. It is worthy of remark that it was the factories of these two firms, which were first attacked during these disturbances. In justice, however, to the Manager, Mr. McLeod, I wish to state that I always found him personally willing, so far as was consistent with the interests of his employer, to pay attention to the complaints of the people, and, to this, may, in a great measure, be attributed the fact that the factory was not then a paying concern. Since then the cultivation has greatly been increased, and I am of opinion that it was owing to that that the late disturbances took place in that concern.

3578. Mr. Ferguson.] In the forty-nine cases which you ferretted out, having occurred during the last thirty years, is it not the

case that in more than half of them, Europeans have not been accused; or, if accused, have been acquitted?—There are scarcely any one of these cases, in which the European or principal manager of the concern has ever been put upon his trial, although in many of them, the Judges trying the cases have expressed strong opinions that such Europeans were themselves implicated in them; and it is to this importunity and freedom from responsibility that I attribute the constant recurrence of these violent outrages.

3579. In such instances as you have mentioned, was it not a gross dereliction of duty on the part of the Government not to prosecute the Europeans?—There certainly was a failure of justice which, in my opinion, may, to a certain extent, be attributed to the strong bias which the Governor and many of the officers of Government have always displayed in favour of those engaged in this particular cultivation; this may also partly have arisen from the difficulty which exists under the present law of obtaining a conviction against Europeans, as for instance in the case in which a planter named Dick *alias* Richard Aimes, was murdered by a European planter named Jones, a French planter named Pierre Aller, and some native servants, in which the Frenchman and the natives being amenable to the courts of the country, were imprisoned for life, whilst Yong, the European British subject, not being subject to the jurisdiction of the local court, was tried in Her Majesty's Supreme Court in Calcutta, and was acquitted on precisely the same evidence as was brought against the foreigners and natives who were convicted in the district court; the sentence being upheld by the Nizamut Adawlut.

3580. Then, you consider that in that case justice was obtained in the Mofussil Courts and denied in the Supreme Court?—I consider that the Judges of the Court of the Nizamut Adawlut are fully as competent to come to a decision on the evidence before them, as a Calcutta Petty Jury. I shall therefore consider that in this instance a failure of justice occurred in the Supreme Court.

3581. If I tell you, that I was in the Supreme Court during the whole of that trial and with a strong feeling against the prisoner, and that I, and most other gentlemen in Calcutta, considered it impossible to find him guilty on the evidence, would it alter your opinion in any manner?—No, as with those facts before them, and commenting on

those facts, the Sudder Court subsequently convicted the remainder of that party as accessories to the murder on that evidence; the previous acquittal in the Supreme Court, and the distrust thrown upon the evidence having been urged by the defendant's counsel, and over-ruled. Moreover, if the murder was not committed, where is Dick *alias* Richard Aimes, who has never appeared since.

3582. In the other cases contained in your list in which no remarks are made by the Judges, is it merely your opinion that the Europeans among them were guilty parties, and should have been punished?— Having had very little conversation with any other parties on the merits of these cases, I am not prepared to state whether any other person has formed the same opinion, but in my own certainty, the European who organized an attack, who conceals the offence, and in one instance even allowed one of his servants who had murdered a ryot, to be concealed, whilst a third party was sentenced capitally, should be held liable to the same punishment as a native of this country would have in all probability been subjected to, if he committed the same offence. I allude to the case of Mr. Patrick Smith, of Dulleemulla Factory, in which a servant of his murdered a chowkidar who endeavoured to resist the carrying off of ryots who refused to take advances for the cultivation of Indigo. The man admitted the murder to Mr. Smith the same day. The actual murderer in that case was not apprehended, but another servant of the name of Ram Singh was capitally sentenced for that crime. Some months subsequently a second murder was committed by the same man, and a rumour spread that this man was really the murderer in the former case. On the representation of Mr. Hills, Dr. Archer, and others, Mr. Smith then appeared before the Sudder Court, and in consequence of the statement there made, the sentence of Ram Singh was commuted, and the real culprit was apprehended.

3583. Then in this instance, did not the Sessions Judge and the Sudder Nizamut convict and sentence to be hung the wrong man?— They convicted the accomplice who was present at the time, but who had not actually struck the fatal blow, instead of the principal who was concealed in the factory, where he was subsequently found by the Magistrate. This arose from the fact that the two men were up-country lattials, not natives of Bengal, in consequence of which some confusion

occurred in the identification of the principal and the accomplice by ignorant Bengali ryots. If the European planter had come forward, as disapproving of the crime, as he was bound to do before the Magistrate or the Sessions, this difficulty of identification would not have arisen. The conviction of the Courts was according to the evidence before them.

3584. *President.*] Is it not a very unusual thing for additional or supplementary evidence to be either offered or received before the Sudder Nizamut, such Court deciding only from the records?—I never heard of a similar course of proceeding; I believe the evidence to have been received at the instance of the two Messrs. Trevor, one of whom was Legal Remembrancer at the time.

3585. *Mr. Fergusson.*] In the course of enquiries, have you not come across similar cases in the Opium and Salt Departments.—No; I have not perused any records, nor have I any personal knowledge of such cases.

3586. Have you not heard of similar cases in one of the Salt Agencies in the Midnapore Zillah?—I have heard that some heinous offences occurred in some way connected with the Salt Department at Hidgelee last year. In what way these cases arose, or in what way they were connected with the Salt Department, I have no knowledge whatever; I believe them to have arisen from disputes between the preventive and manufacturing branches of the Salt Department; but my knowledge is entirely derived from general rumours. In the Opium Department I have never heard of any cases whatever.

3587. Do not any case similar to those in your list arise from disputes between rival native zemindars respecting lands, hauts, &c.?—Frequent affrays and kidnapping arise from such sources of dispute, but of late years they have nearly ceased in that part of the country of which I have special knowledge, and I believe generally throughout Bengal; they, however, more frequently take the form of disputes between two strong contending parties well able to cope with one another, and do not, as in the Indigo cases, show the strong continually preying on the weak, and disputes arising out of a false system of trade.

3588. Have you any reason to believe that the system carried on in the silk trade was different as regards ryots from that of the Indigo business?—I have no knowledge on the subject.

3589. Have the Indigo cases now ceased in Bengal together with the cessation of the same zemindary affrays, or do the former continue in any district while the latter have ceased?—I believe the establishment of the numerous Sub-divisions throughout Bengal has had the effect of decreasing violent open outrages of every description, such as affrays; but the seizing of ryots and the confinement within the factory walls, has, in my opinion, increased as violent overt acts have decreased. The greatest increase, however, is in cases unconnected with Indigo on account of the fear which the zemindars have of these Sub-divisions, and the great facility which is afforded to the European planters of opposing the ryots in any way which does not involve any great publicity, such as would necessarily attract the attention of the higher authorities.

3590. Are kidnapping and imprisonment still carried on by zemindars as well as planters?—Yes, I believe they are in many instances; but since the passing of Act X of 1859, I believe that they have greatly decreased.

3591. Then, has the increase of these offences to which you alluded solely occurred in Indigo Concerns?—Whether it is that there is an actual increase, or whether it is that the establishment of Sub-divisions have brought them to light, or whether it is that the punishment of several planters for this offence has given the ryots greater confidence to speak more openly of these things, I am not sure; but I have certainly heard more of such cases within the last few years than before, and I believe that it may be attributed to the increased reluctance of the ryots to sow without such compulsion, and also to the check which has been given to such outrages.

3592. In case 18. you remark that the Europeans for whose benefit the crime was committed were not punished. Do you ground that opinion from the observations of the Judge or from what you read of the case?—To the best of my recollection the printed report of the case will show that the Judge, Mr. G. C. Cheap, remarks that the case was one in which great blame attached to Mr. Tripp, and said it was cause of great regret to him to put on record the commission of such violent outrages by Europeans, but that he was glad to state that Mr. Kenny, the proprietor of the concern, was on his way to England, and was not therefore responsible.

3593. In case 29 you remark that Mr. French was in the jail in which these men were confined at the time. Do you mean by your remarks on that case that Mr. French ought to have been brought to trial?—Judging from the evidence, as it appears in the printed report of the Sudder Court, I should, if I had been the Magistrate before whom that case came, have committed Mr. French to take his trial, as it appears that he compromised the case by giving compensation to the owner of the boat.

3594. In case 30 you observe the servants were imprisoned, but Mr. W. Collis, who was admitted by the Judge to give the order, was not put on trial, by virtue of his descent from European stock, on what is that remark founded?—It is my strong opinion derived from a perusal of the case. For the Judge stated that the order was given by Mr. W. Collis himself, and I can conceive no other possible reason, why, if the Judge considered Mr. Collis to have been guilty, he should not have taken steps to bring him to justice, and, judging from the practice of the courts, I feel convinced that had he been a native his trial would have been directed.

3595. On the whole, considering the number of districts and the number of Indigo concerns and of planters engaged, also the period of time over which these cases extend; considering also the state of society in the Mofussil, do you consider that these serious cases frequent, rare, or otherwise?—These cases do not in any way represent the total amount of such outrages that have been committed during the period embraced. The greater part of the selected cases of which an abstract has been given, are only those of so serious a nature as necessitated a reference to the Sudder Court either on account of the severity of the penalty involved, or in appeal on points of law. My own opinion is that not one tithe of the offences actually committed ever came before any court at all; of those which are actually brought up by the police, very many are disposed of by the Magistrate himself; and others of a more serious nature are decided by the Sessions Court without reference to the Nizamut. I have not had the means at my disposal to enable me to lay before the Committee any memorandum of such cases. The improved administration of the police arising from the increase of Sub-divisions has decreased the number of violent crimes of late years, but it has, as a consequence, checked the cultivation of Indigo.

3596. *Mr. Temple.*] But, on the whole, do you consider that planters rarely resort to serious violence or frequently; and do you believe that these deeds of violence are committed by a few planters or by the majority, or what?—I believe that deeds of the violence of those noted in the abstract filed, are not frequent, but still they are such, as to keep up and perpetuate a feeling of terrorism without which, in my opinion, the cultivation of Indigo could not be carried on for one day. Any act of great violence, committed in any district, such for instance, as the attack of the village of Haut-dayal, in the district of Rajshahye, in the concern of Messrs. J. and R. Watson and Co., in which three villages were gutted, three cultivators killed, and six wounded, would be enough to strike terror into the hearts of the ryots, in that part of the country for many years to come, and it is only when the ryots have forgotten such acts as these, that any fresh violence of this sort is necessary. I believe that there are many planters who do all in their power to avoid having recourse to such expedients, but it will be found that one or two outrages of the most serious description have occurred within the remembrance of men in every district and with every concern.

3597. Have you known many planters, who would not under any circumstances themselves order or authorize such proceedings; and do you know, whether such things could or could not be done by the servant without the authority of the master?—I know many planters who would neither authorize nor order such proceedings, but the system is such that they are frequently involved in such cases against their will; that the system which they pursue, and the class of servants that they employ, force them to this; the worst that can be said of such men is, that when they are so involved, they do not come forward as they should do, and publicly disown the acts of their servants and render assistance in bringing them to justice.

3598. You have mentioned generally that European planters are, practically, never punished for acts of violence; is it that prosecutions are instituted by the Mofussil Authorities, and fail in the Supremo Court, or is it that prosecution is not attempted, and if the latter be the cause, what is the reason?—Prosecutions are scarcely ever attempted. The reason of this is partly because Mofussil Magistrates know the difficulty of procuring a conviction in the Supreme Court, partly from

great unwillingness among prosecutors and witnesses to subject themselves to the liability to come to Calcutta to attend the Supreme Court and to a great extent to the bias in favour of the planters, which has been too frequently displayed by men in all positions from the highest officers of the Government down to the lowest.

3599. As an officer of Mofussil experience, what do you consider to be practically the difficulties of prosecuting the planters' before the Supreme Court; or how do these difficulties arise?—It never fell to my lot to have to commit any planter, but judging from my experience as a Justice of the Peace, in obtaining convictions against Europeans, I consider that very great practical difficulties exist. For instance, I have committed Europeans to the Supreme Court, the bill has been thrown out by the grand jury under circumstances which led the Government to direct a re-commitment on the same evidence. The evidence was described by the Advocate General as being of the most clear and conclusive description. The parties were re-committed on precisely the same evidence, and were convicted and sentenced. In another case, I committed an officer for trial for manslaughter. The officer admitted before me having committed the assault which led to the man's death. The medical evidence showed that although the man was in bad health, yet his health had been hastened by the injuries he had received. The grand jury threw out the bill; and it is in cases like these, that dishearten Mofussil Magistrates from committing Europeans to the Supreme Court.

3600. But as a Magistrate and Justice of the Peace, would you not commit an offender, if you believed him guilty on the evidence, irrespective as to your opinion as to what might be the view taken by a Calcutta petty jury or grand jury?—As a judicial officer, if the evidence was very clear in any case before me, I should commit, but, as an executive officer, I should hesitate to take up many cases against Europeans, which under the circumstances I should consider it incumbent on me to proceed with.

3601. *Mr. Fergusson.*] In this list I see eight names of persons whom I personally know to be foreigners, and parties liable to the Mofussil Court; can you account for their not being proceeded against, if there were any good grounds for doing so?—Of the evidence against the parties particularly alluded to in the cases you have mentioned, I



am not prepared to speak without a reference to the cases, but the exemption to which you allude was probably explained in my previous answer, in which I noticed the great bias which has always existed in favour of planters from the very beginning.

3602. Then do you consider that the Government officials have sacrificed justice to favour the planters?—I consider that it has frequently been the case, and I have stated so in official reports. I will go further and say, that as a young assistant, I confess I have favoured my own countrymen in several instances.

3603. Baboo C. M. Chatterjee.] Do you believe that if the European planters in the Mofussil were subject to equal laws and same punishment with the natives of the country, they would be deterred from committing the oppressions you have alluded to?—I believe that with the knowledge that they were subject to the Courts, and did not enjoy the perfect practical impunity which they now possess, the system of force which is known to all to have existed so long, would not have been continued by the planters.

3604. Is it not the case that if a Native gentleman and an European gentleman, a British subject, were found guilty of a similar offence before a Mofussil Magistrate, the former might be sentenced to imprisonment, whereas the latter might get off by paying a fine to the extent of 500 rupees?—If an English gentleman and a Native gentleman were placed side by side in the same case, I hardly think that any Magistrate could punish them in a different manner, but in similar but separate cases, I think that it would frequently happen that a Native gentleman would be imprisoned, whereas the European would only be fined, because the Magistrate has not, except in particular cases, the power of imprisoning an European.

3605. During the time the Indigo planters were vested with magisterial powers, did not some of them abuse their power, within your own knowledge, to serve their own interests?—There were no honorary Magistrates in my district.

3606. Mr. Ferguson.] In the present state of the Mofussil Courts and with the present Judges who preside in them, would you like to see any European friend tried in them?—I think that if the courts are good enough for the natives, they are good enough for Europeans. If they

are not good enough for natives, they are not fit to have any jurisdiction at all over any one. As far as I am myself concerned, I would sooner be tried, if innocent, in the local Sessions Court, with an appeal to the Nizamut, than in the Supreme Court. If guilty, I would prefer the Supreme Court and a Calcutta jury.

3607. *President.*] Several witnesses have either stated or admitted that Indigo cultivation is unprofitable and unpopular with the ryots, and you yourself have declared your belief that the cultivation for years has been compulsory; how do you reconcile those admissions and your belief with the fact, that the system has gone on for years without any change?—For many reasons: *first*, that the people of Bengal are naturally patient in enduring oppressions. Years of tyranny and oppression have taught them to bear every wrong without resistance. Their feelings have taken the form of sullen morose hate, rather than active opposition. These pent-up feelings have now for the first time found a vent; *secondly*, the Police Courts have, until the last four or five years, been out of their reach. The planter having the rights of a zemindar, has reigned over them with the powers of a despot. They dared not leave their homes to go and complain at a distant station; if they did so, they ran the risk of returning to find their cattle carried off, or a relative illegally confined. Even in cases in which, on these complaints, the police when deputed to hold an investigation, sometimes through fear of the planter, and sometimes corrupted by his money, nearly always influenced by some means or other, reported the case against the ryot. The ryot would then be worse off than before, and his only hope of peace, lay in cultivating Indigo without opposition, but not as a free agent; *thirdly*, Bengalis have not usually that power of conjoint action which would enable them with any prospect of success to form a combination against the planters; *fourthly*, ryots, from whatever causes it may have arisen, have certainly all along believed, that Government and Government officials were interested in the cultivation of Indigo, that they were so strongly prejudiced in favour of the planter, that it was useless to complain. The ryots were unable to understand, how a man living in terms of the greatest intimacy, and in daily communication with the planter, was capable of deciding cases justly; cases in which the interests of that planter were concerned. Whatever

may be the impartiality of the individual Magistrate, it would be difficult to persuade an uneducated native that intimacy of this description would not bias a Magistrate in his official acts. This intimacy has very often, it may be without the knowledge of the planter, been made use of by the factory servants as a means to accomplish their wishes. Again, facilities of complaint have been afforded to the Planters by the higher authorities from which the ryots are altogether excluded, and, I believe it to be the case that this privilege has been made use of to influence such higher authority against such of the local authorities as may have shown a disposition to do justice between man and man. And there are cases, in which the removal of officials has been attributed by the ryots to the influence brought to bear by those in the interests of the planters against such officials; *fifthly*, I believe that the pressure of Indigo cultivation has never been so severely felt as during the present time, as although the ryots have always had to sacrifice a portion of their land and labour, the loss has never been so severe as at the present time, when the value of that land and labour has greatly increased; formerly these lands gave them enough to live upon and pay their rents, but as there was no market for surplus produce, and but little stimulus to accumulate, it was not worth their while to grow any great amount of produce beyond what was necessary for their own consumption.

3608. Can you mention any cases within your knowledge, in which officials were either interfered with or censured or removed for alleged bias against planters?—Moulvee Abdool Latief was removed from Kalaroa for giving an order protecting the ryots against the forcible entry of the planter. My predecessor at Baraset was complained of for saying that it was optional for ryots to sow Indigo or not, and was censured by the late Lieutenant Governor. Of this last case I have no knowledge except what was derived from the planters themselves, and from the people who still believe him to have been removed for protecting them. In my own case, I was, on private representations made by planters, reprimanded and interfered with by the Commissioner. Representations were made to the Government for my removal, on the ground that I had told the ryots that the cultivation of Indigo was optional. And three petitions were

presented by parties of influence in Calcutta, within a few months, demanding my removal on this account, and I had considerable difficulty in defending my own position and upholding my independence as a Magistrate.

3609. *Mr. Fergusson.*] Are you aware that the cultivation of Indigo in the district of Nuddea does not occupy more than five per cent. of its area, and if so, how can it be so severe a pressure on the ryots, as you have stated it to be?—Admitting this calculation to be correct, you must first deduct from that area one-third of the whole as follows, wood, waste, village, and unculturable lands. You must next deduct one-third of this for those portions of the district in which Indigo cultivation is not carried on, and with which the planter has no connection. From the balance you must deduct a very large proportion of wet land suitable only for the cultivation of late rice, and then if you take the remainder, which is the most valuable land in the whole of the district and the most productive, you will find that the planters have thrown out of profitable cultivation a proportion of the best land, which must press with very great severity on those engaged in the cultivation of profitable crops in the part of the district where factories are situated.

3610. But the seed crops are cold weather crops, which can be grown equally with Indigo and early rice; and do you think that while grain crops, such as rice, can be taken continually off the same land, it would not be better to vary such crops occasionally with Indigo?—Provided that Indigo were as profitable as any other crop, I can understand that an occasional crop of that plant might be beneficial to the soil, but so long as it is a dead loss to the ryot, out of pocket, even the inferior rice crop is more remunerative to him. But, there are other crops, such as *jute, sugar-cane, chillies, ginger, turmeric, tobacco*, which afford the ryot a still greater profit than rice; but even supposing that this was not the case; the land is the land of the ryots, they are the best judges of their own interests, and so long as they object to the cultivation of Indigo for whatever reason, I can conceive no principle upon which it can be argued that it is justifiable for a third party to come in and insist upon a ryot sowing that to which he objects, although it may be in his opinion beneficial to the ryot.

3611. But if a ryot has made a contract and has received money to

sow Indigo, upon what principle has he a right to decline to do so?—If a ryot, being a free agent and acting without force, either actual or moral, voluntarily enters into a contract for the cultivation of any crop, he is of course bound to fulfil it, but the result of my experience and my enquiries on the subject convince me that in scarcely any instance does a ryot, being a free agent, enter into contracts or receive advances for the cultivation of Indigo, which is admitted by many competent authorities to involve a pecuniary loss upon the ryot. One of the main elements of the contract, to make it legal, must be that it has voluntarily been entered into by both parties. My own opinion is, that in no instances within the last six years at least, have ryots entered into legal contracts for the cultivation of this crop.

3612. *President.*] But will you state the precise nature of your experience as to how these contracts are first entered into?—From my own experience derived from conversations with both ryots and planters, and from the examination of the factory books, and from the inspection of the contracts themselves, and from constant enquiries and investigations for the last four years into the matter, I, still continue of opinion that the description of the mode as to how contracts are entered into, given in my letter No. 500, dated 19th June 1858, page 220 of the Blue Book, is a correct description of the manner in which advances are given and received.

3613. *Mr. Fergusson.*] Do you know that the land in the district of Baraset to which your experience and enquiries appear to have been limited, is unsuited for the cultivation of Indigo, and that it does not produce one-half of the plant which the lands in Kishnaghur and Jessore do?—I have always understood that the lands at Baraset were amongst the finest lands in Bengal, and as the district borders both on Jessore and Kishnaghur, much of the land is precisely of the same description as that of those districts.

3614. Do you not think that the occasional intimacy between the planters and officials is balanced by a similar intimacy between the ryots and darogah and the native officials of the district?—My own experience leads me to believe that fear of the planter's influence and fear of the representations he may make to their official superiors, render the police very apt to side with the planter's people when the opposite

party were poor natives. My great difficulty has always been to get the police to act boldly and straightforwardly in cases of this sort. I have frequently had to find fault with the police for displaying an unjustifiable bias in favour of the planter.

3615. *President.*] Have you reason to believe that any portion of that bias is due to illegal or improper influence, such as the payment of money, and if so, on what reasons do you ground that belief?—It has frequently been stated to me by planters, that unless they had recourse to these means, they would find it difficult to carry on their business. I generally believed that as a rule, the police have hitherto been so corrupt that there is reason to suspect that in very many cases they have been so influenced. Of late years, since constant enquiries have been made into the matter, and an educated and higher class of natives have been employed, and since the salary has been increased, there has been a most decided improvement in this respect.

3616. Then, it is your decided opinion that so far from the Magistrates having obstructed or impeded Indigo cultivation, they have not afforded to the ryot the support and protection he might fairly expect?—I think that if the law had been strictly administered by the Magistrates, and if they had at their disposal a staff of well qualified officers sufficient for them to carry out the law in all cases, the present system of cultivation could not have been continued as it has done. I believe that many Magistrates have been deterred from doing their duty in this respect, from a sensitive desire to avoid the ignominious reproach which has always been raised against them of being jealous of the non-official classes; and, in avoiding this reproach, they have allowed themselves to display a bias in favour of the planters, which has in many cases led to a failure of justice.

3617. *Mr. Sala.*] You mention as one reason, why the ryots, though unwilling, have been cultivating so long, that the police courts were out of their reach. Did you refer to the distance the ryots have to go to get justice, or to the difficulties arising out of the arrangements of the courts, or of the character of the *amla*, or to the difficulty arising out of the ryots' fear of the planter when he is also a zemindar?—I allude to the fact that in many districts ryots have to go some thirty or forty miles to the nearest Magistracy; and that, through fear of the planter,

who is a zemindar, he dares not leave his house for this purpose. I also alluded to the fact, that in one district with which I was acquainted, the power of one firm is so great, that the ryots used to come across in my district to complain to me, because they dared not go through their own district to reach the station at which their own Magistrate resided.

3618. Do you not think that a simple mode of administering justice, such as that adopted in the cutcherries of the planters, would be much more effective than the arrangements at present existing in most of the Mofussil Courts?—I have no personal knowledge of the system pursued in the planter's cutcherry, but I am not prepared to recommend that the system pursued in those courts, as I understand them to be, should be introduced into the constituted courts of the country. I have no doubt that in many cases a planter may dispose of cases with great justice when his interests are not antagonistic to those of the people themselves, but every thing in such a court must depend entirely upon the temper and ability of the individual presiding.

3619. Is not it often ruin to a ryot to leave his home, say at the sowing season, to make a complaint at any of the Mofussil Courts?—Until late years, it was doubtless impossible for ryots to leave their cultivation to go to a distant Court; but of late years, many district sub-divisional courts have been brought within a day's journey to every ryot in the district.

3620. You mentioned in a previous answer that planters have admitted to you that the ryots are not free agents; does this statement refer to any constraint put upon them, or does it refer to any relation which they supposed themselves to have as their zemindars?—The planters have undoubtedly a very mistaken notion of the right of interference with the ryot's crops and cultivation, which they consider themselves to possess as zemindars. They doubtless referred to force and constraint, which in their position as zemindars, they were able to exercise towards their ryots with practical impunity.

3621. Mr. Fergusson.] Have the native zemindars and mahajans equally mistaken notions of the rights of cultivation?—I never heard of a zemindar insisting upon a ryot sowing any particular crop, unless that zemindar was also an Indigo planter; neither have I ever heard of a

*mahajan* exercising any interference in the cultivation of the crop of a ryot indebted to him. I never heard from *mahajans* that they found it necessary to exercise any interference whatever with the ryots; and I know cases in which ryots, who having given *jute* under advances from *mahajans* living at the distance of thirty or forty miles away, have scrupulously fulfilled their engagements with the *mahajans*, who had no *zemindary* rights in the district, and no power in any way of interfering with the cultivation. But I know so far of *zemindars* collecting a cess on particular descriptions of crops, which is of course illegal, but this interference on the part of the *zemindar* is not general, and does not extend to interference with the cultivation of crops.

3622. *President.*] Practically do not *gautidars*, *jotedars*, and other tenant-proprietors select their own crops, vary them, fence their own gardens, and plant them and reap the produce without any dictation or any interference on the part of the *zemindar*?—Always, within my knowledge.

3623. Is there not a great increase of date and sugar-cane cultivation in parts of Baraset, and if so, to whom do you attribute that cultivation?—In the eastern portion of the district there is an extensive cultivation of date, which is entirely grown by the more prosperous ryots, who have large *jotes*. And I also know several instances in which *zemindars* themselves purchase the ryots' lands, and made use of their own waste lands, by turning them into date gardens.

3624. *Baboo C. M. Chatterjee.*] Do you know that a kind of leather strap is kept in the factories for beating ryots?—I have heard from ryots that there is a stick with a leather attached to it, called "Sham Chand" or "Ram Kant," but this I merely heard from the Kishnaghur ryots.

3625. *Mr. Fergusson.*] Have you never heard that this was originally invented and used in the Hon'ble Company's Silk Filatures?—I have never known if this was the case, but I quite believe that such may have been the case in those days.

Commission adjourned at 6 p. m.

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Monday, 23rd July, 1860.

PRESENT:

W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., C. S., *President*.

*Members*.

W. F. Fergusson, Esq. | Reverend J. Sale.

Baboo Chunder Mohun Chatterjee.

The Hon'ble *Ashley Eden's* examination continued.

3626. *President*.] You had occasion to enter into correspondence with the Commissioner regarding the cultivation of Indigo, and to issue certain instructions to the police in 1859, and you are well aware of the refusal to cultivate Indigo on the part of the ryots during the present season; to what causes mainly do you attribute that refusal?—The refusal to cultivate Indigo is in Baraset nothing new. So long ago as the year 1855, a former Magistrate, Mr. Mangles, having expressed an opinion (in certain cases connected with the cultivation of Indigo) that the ryots could not legally be compelled to take advances for the cultivation of that crop against their wishes, the result was, that the ryots having discovered this, at once threw up the cultivation, and the outturn of the concern for that year was only sixty-five maunds. Complaints were made to Government by gentlemen at Calcutta connected with the Indigo trade, and it was stated by themselves, that Mr. Mangles was reprimanded for having told the ryots that the cultivation was optional; whether this reprimand was actually administered or not, I cannot say; but the result was, that on Mr. Mangles's leaving the district immediately afterwards, the ryots understood him to have been removed for affording them protection, and they again were afraid to resist the endeavours made by the planters to force this cultivation upon them, and sowed Indigo that year to a small extent. The subsequent year being the year of the mutiny, and there being strong reasons to believe that the natives of Baraset were impressed with a great dislike of planting, and as they had on a previous occasion (about 1832) actually attacked the factories under the leadership of Tito Mir, the planters on this occasion were afraid of similar attacks, and applied for, and obtained, a special guard,

for the protection of their lives and property ; the consequence of which was, that the ryots that year being afraid of being charged with intimidating and opposing the planter, sowed a moderate quantity of Indigo. In a subsequent year, however, a question having arisen as to the right of the planter on an *ex parte* allegation that ryots were under advances to him, to enter himself upon the lands of such planters and cultivate their Indigo, I expressed a strong opinion that the land being the property of the ryots and not of the planters, the planters had no right whatever on any such plea to take possession of the ryot's lands, and that the Magistrates were bound, in case of such trespass to protect the ryots in their possession. On that occasion my views were not upheld by the Commissioner, and I was directed to induce the ryots of Mr. Larmour to sow their Indigo. I went to the spot and the ryots sowed. Next year I was determined to bring the question to a practical issue, and a similar question having arisen, I again gave the same order to my subordinates to afford protection to the ryots in the event of the planters' servants entering violently into their lands to sow there a crop which the ryots objected to. My orders were again upset by the Commissioner\* (Mr. Larmour's case of 1858-59,) and I was reprimanded. I remonstrated, and the result was the correspondence in the Blue Book in which my order was finally upheld. Early in 1859, Mr. Prestwich and Mr. Warner having complained to me that their ryots refused to take advances to settle the accounts for the past year, and having requested me to use my influence to make them take advances, I stated my inability to do so, and told them the only way of inducing their ryots to sow or to enter into the cultivation, would be by offering them a remunerative price. Instead of doing this, they complained to the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Halliday, and the result was an interview as described in the Lieutenant Governor's minute, page 151 of the Blue Book. After this I drew up a vernacular paper, or *rubukari*, which is given in page 156 of the Blue Book, and the ryots then learnt that it really was optional for them to enter into contracts or to refuse to do so. The fact that it was optional, spread generally throughout the district, and ryots came from Jessore and Kishnagur and took authenticated copies of my order, knowing that the effect of the intimation would be to spread gradually throughout Bengal,

a knowledge of the fact that it was optional with ryots to enter into the contracts or not, as they thought fit. I apprehend that the result of such knowledge would be to put a stop to the forced system then existing. I thought it necessary to obtain the sanction of the Commissioner previously to granting such copies. The *rubakari* was issued on the 20th February 1859. In the following season the question of the right of the planter was again discussed between myself and the Commissioner, and the final orders of the Government alluded to above were received, laying down a distinct principle on this point; this was subsequent to the issue of that *rubakari*. Copies of the Government Order were forwarded to the Sub-divisions for the information and guidance of the Deputy Magistrates in charge of those Sub-divisions, and by one of them a perwannah was issued, *viz.*: by the Deputy Magistrate of Kalaroa, which is said by the planters and their advocates to have been the cause of the ryots' refusal to sow. That perwannah was not issued with my knowledge, as explained in my letter to Government. A natural consequence of the ryots finding that they were really free agents, and that for the first time for a long period of years, there was an inclination displayed by the authorities to afford them that practical protection, which had all along been theirs by law and theory, was, that they refused to sow, and appealed to the authorities for protection from force.\* I do not believe that, as has been stated by the planters and others, the ryots ever believed that it was the wish of Government, that they should not sow Indigo, but I believe simply that they believed it to be optional. I may add, that I long foresaw that such a crisis was at hand, and in the late great rise in the price of all commodities and the labour market, nothing short of military force could have for any period compelled the ryots to continue the cultivation of the crop, which though always distasteful to them, had latterly involved a pecuniary loss, which they were unable to bear.

3627. Then, are we to understand that in your opinion, the compulsory character of the cultivation is the primary and original cause of the dislike; the late rise in prices, the additional cause; and the sudden knowledge that entering into contracts was purely optional with the ryots, was the approximate cause that set the whole thing in motion? —Yes, that is decidedly my opinion.

3628. Did you ever state to any planters that you foresaw the late crisis?—Yes, I did to Messrs. Forlong, Henty Deveroll, Prestwich, and all with whom I had any conversation on the subject.

3629. Were there any peculiarities in the Baraset district which might make the ryots more keenly alive to their own rights, compared to the ryots of other districts, say for instance, Pubna and Moorshedabad, or even Jessore and Kishnaghur?—Baraset is a suburban district. The ryots are the most intelligent set of ryots that I have ever met with in any district. They have constant communication with the merchants in Calcutta, and know all that is going on in the neighbourhood; being *shara-wallas* (or Ferazoes), they have a complete organization, and frequently meet together to interchange ideas. On account of the great influx of troops into the large military stations of Dum-Dum and Barrackpore, as well as in Calcutta, the value of the produce of their lands has greatly increased; a considerable manufacturing population has even sprung up in the district, for the purpose of supplying the demand for *gunny*, and irrespective therefore of the increased demand for export crops, they have also had to supply a surplus for the population labouring for wages in the manufacture of *gunny*, and on the rail-road which is being made in the district. It should be recollected that every two maunds of rice or seed exported from this country, requires a *gunny* bag, and they have therefore had a ready sale for the *jute* employed in making these bags. The rise in the labour and produce market has of course made it still more distasteful to the ryots to have to give up a portion of their land to unprofitable crops. In addition to this, Baraset, which is a small district, has three Sub-divisional Magistrate's Offices, in addition to the Sudder Magistrate's Office; it has therefore been easy to control the police, and the people have had to go but a short distance to get a hearing for their complaints. I believe that the manufacture of Indigo has never paid the planter in Baraset for the last eight or nine years.

3630. Mr. Fergusson.] Do you not perceive much difference between the language of your *rubakari* of February 1859, where you say the ryots are free to take advances, and your letter of the 17th August, in which you say that the ryots had liberty to sow any crop they liked, and do you not think it certain that the perwannah of Baboo Hemchunder Ker embodying terms of your letter, would be interpreted by the ryots

as to its being optional for them to evade their contracts?—My letter and my *rubakari* were on two entirely different subjects, and merely entered into the questions specially before me in each case. The *rubakari* had reference to the compulsory attendance of ryots at the factory to receive advances, and to be made to enter into contracts. The letter, however, merely gave cover to Government Order laying down the principle upon which a Magistrate should act in the event of a planter attempting to enter forcibly on the lands of ryots, on the allegation that the ryot was under advances to sow. There could not therefore be any great similarity between two letters relating to two such different subjects. I deny that the *perwannah* does embody the remarks contained in my letter, and I further am decidedly of opinion, from information derived from competent persons, official and non-official, that that *perwannah* had nothing whatever to do with the present position of the ryots, except so far as it further confirm them in the idea that they were at length about to receive protection from oppression, and I am satisfied that if that *perwannah* had never been written, the same reluctance to sow would have shown itself.

3631. How do you account for the Baraset Concern having sown a large portion of their cultivation this season, and subsequent to your leaving the district?—It is not for me to say how the ryots have been induced to do that which they all along objected to do, but I believe it to have arisen, partly from a rumour that was spread, that I had been under the displeasure of the Government for protecting the ryots, and had been transported out of Bengal into Orissa; and partly from the fact, that the new manager, Mr. Larmour, gained over many of the influential ryots, whom he had previously denounced as turbulent persons, by making them *dewans*, *naibs*, and *gomashas* of the factories. These men, although they do not cultivate themselves, have sufficient influence over their own *Koorfa* ryots to make them sow, and after all, the sowings only amount, I believe to 5,641 beegahs and 6 cottahs, of which 819 beegahs and 11 cottahs belong to a new Factory not in the district.

3632. But does not the fact of 5,000 beegahs having been sown, nullify your previous statements as to the determination of the ryots not to sow, as to their superior intelligence, and as to their advantage in

proximity to Calcutta, and the possession of a greater proportion of subdivisions?—I believe that nearly two-thirds of this amount has been sown *nij-abad* by the planter who has hired these lands for this year at a high rate. I believe further, that the Indigo cultivation enforcement law has created a panic throughout the country, and that the ryots have this year thought it better to prevent any collision with the factory, with this assurance that by next year they will receive full protection in their rights. I do not believe further, that the *Koorfa* (or dependant ryots) are free agents in this matter.

3633. Do you consider that the same reasons account for Mr. Larmour's having been able to sow all his Mulnath lands within the Baraset district?—I do not know that the Mulnath lands have been sown, and if so, I do not know under what circumstances they have been sown.

3634. Baboo C. M. Chatterjee.] Are you aware that some of the Magistrates issued perwannahs to the darogahs, enjoining them to allow the planters to sow any lands that they wished, and to prevent any ryots from objecting to the planters sowing their land?—I have heard that since I have been in Calcutta, but have no personal knowledge of it.

3635. Mr. Sale.] Did you find that your notification in Baraset, to the effect that the ryots are at liberty to sow what crop they pleased on their lands, had any prejudicial effect on any cultivation save that of Indigo, such as jute, sugar, tobacco, &c.?—Certainly not; it was complained of this having stopped the cultivation of Indigo, but of no other crop, many of which were grown in advances in the Baraset district, such as rice, tobacco, and jute.

3636. Did you ever meet with any instances in which the ryots tried to evade obligations arising from advances taken for crops, other than Indigo?—No, never; on the contrary, I have known ryots refuse to sell their jute at a high price to the Baraset Jail, because they were under advances to the mahajans living on the banks of the Hooghly.

3637. Can you state from your knowledge whether the persons making those advances, are in the habit of exercising a strict supervision over the ryots during the cultivation of the crops advanced for?—No, they exercise no supervision whatever, and have no means of exercising such supervision.

3638. Do you know whether the persons making those advances are

in the habit of fixing the prices of the produce, when the advances are made?—Yes, the bargain is always made at the time of giving the advance, according to the condition of the market. The same people do not always make the same bargain every year. A dealer making an advance would get the produce at a lower rate than if he bought in the market at the time; this is the object for which this accommodation is given.

3639. Are many cases instituted in the courts by producers, or by those making the advances?—As regards the Civil Courts, I have no accurate knowledge; but as regards the Criminal Courts, I have never had a case arising out of this question. The only complaints that I ever heard made, were in 1859; that year a large number of ryots came to me and said, that owing to the fear of a famine, mahajuns would not give them advances of grain, and that as they had sold all their grain to those mahajuns at the cutting of the crop, they would suffer great distress if advances were withheld.

3640. Mr. *Fergusson*.] Do you know if written agreements are taken on the occasion of such advances as you have mentioned?—Written agreements are taken in the case of rice, but I never had cause to ascertain whether the same system is pursued with regard to all other crops, but from my knowledge of them, and the way they manage business, I believe it would be taken, and that on stamp paper.

3641. Do such agreements generally stipulate that the whole of the ryot's crop shall be made over to the mahajun at the price fixed, or only a portion?—I never read the stipulation, but the condition, as I understood it, was, that the ryot for one maund of rice should pay back a maund and a quarter at the time of cutting the rice. In the case of rice for seed, he would have to pay back a maund and half.

3642. *President*.] In the case of rice, over the cultivation of which the mahajun exercises little or no supervision, would it not be more correct to say that the question is not one of advances at all, but that the ryot borrows a maund of rice to feed himself and his family when the market is high, and pays it back at twenty-five or fifty per cent. interest, when he has gathered in his crop, and that the mahajun finds it profitable to accumulate stores of grain and to lend them on the above terms?—That is perhaps a more correct description of the

transaction, but in practice the interest is not nearly twenty-five or fifty per cent., because a maund of rice at the season of advances is very nearly equal in value to a maund and quarter of rice in the harvest time, and the real object of the mahajun is not so much to obtain a high rate of interest from his regular constituents, as to insure a large stock of rice to sell in distant markets by keeping up two connections with a considerable body of ryots engaged in rice cultivation, and who would naturally deal with him.

3643. Baboo C. M. Chatterjee.] If a ryot were allowed to cultivate all his lands with rice and other crops of his own liking, do you not think he would be able to pay off his mahajun's debts, and in one year or two become independent?—It is within my own knowledge that within the last two years ryots have, owing to the high price of grain, been enabled to pay off their debts to the mahajuns. And one of the largest mahajuns in Orissa told me that this year he had been obliged to modify the terms on which he lent rice, and it stands to reason that the more land a man has, affording a profit, the sooner he would be in a position to accumulate, and be independent of his mahajuns, provided he received sufficient protection.

3644. Mr. Fergusson.] Will not the landholder, as in all other countries, obtain a large portion of this rise in price of the produce of the land, or what portion of the land in Baraset do you estimate as held by ryots, whose rents cannot be enhanced?—I believe that nearly all the ryots of Baraset are permanent hereditary occupiers, whose rent cannot be enhanced. Many of them having *pottas* from the old Kishnaghur Rajahs. I allude to the *jotedars*, and not to the *koorfa* ryots, who of course cultivate a great portion of the district under these *jotedars*.

3645. Is not the system of advances, both for produce and work, almost universal in that district, and in Bengal?—I believe the system is very general, but I think in the present time that important works can be carried out without any advances, in support of which I beg to hand a letter which I have received from Captain Harris, the Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Circle, showing that on the spur which is being erected at the mouth of the Kedjuri River, as many as 1,500 coolies per diem were at work, none of whom had received a pice of advances. These men came from all parts of the country.



3646. *President.*] Have you any means of informing the Commission of the comparative cost of cultivating indigo, rice, and other crops, and of the respective produce of the same?—I beg to hand a statement showing that the cost of growing Indigo on tobacco land is rupees 13-6 a beegah, and the produce of twenty bundles per beegah would only be four rupees, entailing thereby a loss of rupees 9-6, and showing also that a crop of tobacco, according to the details of cultivation given in Major Smyth's statistical report, would amount to twenty-four rupees, and would produce a crop, according to my calculation, of seven maunds at five rupees, but according to Major Smyth's report thirteen maunds, giving the ryot a clear profit, according to my calculation, of eleven rupees. I may add that in 1857 tobacco was selling in Baraset at eighteen rupees a maund. I also hand in a comparative statement of a crop of Indigo and rice grown on the same land, by which it will appear that by Indigo the ryot loses one rupee fourteen annas, and by the rice he gets ten rupees seven annas, (filed accordingly.) This information I have derived from enquiries made from ryots at various periods during the last three years, and partly from the statistical reports of the Revenue Surveyor. My reason for giving the rent at three rupees is, that the land is required for the whole twelve months, and therefore I have given a full average rent. The rent of the rice land which I have given as one rupee, being of an unfair description, I have calculated the produce of the Indigo on the rice land as one-half of the out-turn of Indigo on tobacco land.

3647. Do you consider it indispensable to the cultivation of Indigo, that there should be a system of advances?—No, I do not think it indispensable that the planters should make any advances. The planters say, that the ryots are so dishonest, that they invariably take advances with intent to defraud. The ryots say "we don't want advances," and the real struggle always is, as proved by numerous cases, to get them to take advances to get them in the factory books; this being so, both parties should, according to their own statements, be satisfied by an abolition of the advance system. The planter would not run the risk of fraud, and the ryot would be allowed to please himself as to the parties from whom he would take accommodation, if even, therefore, it was admitted that the ryots had not even yet advanced

to that state of prosperity, at which they would be able to cultivate a crop without any advances at all, it would surely be better to allow the ryot to procure the necessary advance from some other source to which he has not the same objection. I believe that if a more remunerative price were offered, any amount of plant would be forthcoming without the planter's advances.

3648. Supposing the contract to be voluntary and the cultivation to be remunerative to the ryot, you would not ever recommend such a thing as advances?—No.

3649. *Mr. Fergusson.*] Can you say what you consider would be a remunerative price for the ryot, say in bundles per rupee?—This is a question which is almost impossible to answer, for we have no means of ascertaining the market price of a crop which has hitherto been grown under a system of small monopolies; the cost of production or material price would be considered in the case of tobacco lands by payments which would bring the price per beegah to rupees 13-6, i. e., supposing the average to be fifteen bundles to one rupee per bundle; this, however, would give the ryot no profit whatever; on rice land this calculation would bring the price per beegah up to rupees 3-14, which would be the actual price of production without a profit, but you must take into consideration in fixing a fair price, the value of other crops which could be produced upon the same land. Why should ryots be made to sow for mere cost of production?

3650. Are you aware that in Rungpore lakhs of bundles of Indigo plant are produced and sold in the best market, not exceeding four bundles per rupee, and that the same takes place in Bancoorah and Beerbhoom?—I have no knowledge of this fact, neither have I any knowledge of the peculiarities of those districts, such as will enable me to account for this.

3651. *President.*] How do you reconcile the fact of advances being made by Government for the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of salt, with your opinion, that even under a voluntary system of Indigo cultivation, advances would not be necessary?—With reference to the salt, the explanation is as regards the Cuttack Agency, of which alone I have experience, that the lands on which the salt is made are unfit for any other purpose, and that the only crop which grows any

where in the neighbourhood of these lands is rice ; that the means of communication in that part of the country is so difficult, as almost to exclude these men from the large markets, and their rice is consequently of no great value, therefore they depend almost entirely upon their salt advances, to carry them through that part of the year when there is no rice cultivation going on. Indeed, by their own petitions and by the report of the Commissioner, Mr. A. J. Mills, it appears that without these advances they would starve ; to use the words of their petition " our circumstances are so unfavourable, had we not have been supplied for the last two years with rice for our advances, we should all have starved to death, and not a Molunghee would have survived to manufacture." In an article of excise it is necessary that the supervising officers should have that entire control and power of selection as to the men employed for the manufacture, which could hardly be obtained except under a system of advances. As to opium, judging from the measures which it was necessary to adopt in 1848 and 1850, with a view of decreasing the amount of cultivation, I consider that then or any other time when the profits of opium are as much in advance of the profits of other crops, as they were then, such system of advances would be unnecessary. To check the cultivation which was increasing too rapidly, it was necessary to issue positive restrictions ; and it appears to me, that if these advances had been withheld, there would have been no difficulty in getting opium without advances, since the cultivation was so popular. This is a question, however, the practical details of which I have had no opportunities of studying, and I know nothing of the condition of the people of the opium districts.

3652. Then, we are to understand that you would gladly see advances discontinued whenever possible in any kind of cultivation?—I believe the system to be very injurious, and would gladly see it abolished from every description of cultivation and work.

3653. Mr. *Fergusson*.] Do you believe that the Molunghees would manufacture salt, even at greatly enhanced rates to them ; if advances were withheld, and if compulsion were not used by Government in the same way in which it is said to be done by Indigo Planters?—I never heard of any compulsion being used in the Salt Department, and

I do not believe that in that part of the country which I have had an opportunity of making enquiries, viz. Cuttack, any system of compulsory manufacture exists. In 1845-46 the cost of manufacture and transport at Cuttack had the effect of raising the price of Cuttack salt above the price of salt of other agencies; it was considered desirable to decrease the amount of salt manufactured in that district, but for political reasons and on account of the great discontent which made itself known at the prospect of the cessation of the salt manufacture, the manufacture was continued on the earnest representation of the Commissioner Mr. Mills. It is probable that enhanced rates would bring in to the manufacture a richer class of people having sufficient capital to enable them to work without advances; but the people who now reside in that part of the country are, from local circumstances, so situated that their rice crop alone would not carry them through the year; and great portion of the year they live in a great measure on their advances. I put in a rough form of *kabulyot* for salt advances. No advances are made without proper security being given in the Salt Department.

3654. Do you know that the Indigo planters at Nuddea by supplying rice and making advances for Indigo have saved the people from starvation in 1838, or other years in the same way as it appears to have been done in Cuttack?—I never heard that such was the case, but I can understand that planters, who are also zemindars, would for the sake of keeping their own ryots, naturally expend large sums for this purpose. I can mention native zemindars who have done the same with the same object. •

3655. Baboo C. M. Chatterjee.] Is it not the fact that almost every Molunghee receives *fuzil* after the manufacturing is closed?—The amount of the first advances in the Cuttack Agency in 1858-59, was 59,935, and the second advance 46,063, and the *fuzil* was rupees 7,350-10-6: there were only outstanding balances at the end of the season of rupees 2,723-15-0, out of rupees 1,13,349-2-6. These outstanding balances were refunded by the Molunghees themselves during the year.

3656. President.] Have you any knowledge of petitions being presented to the Board of Revenue by the poppy cultivators of Behar

complaining that the Agent would not allow them to cultivate?—I have in my hand a petition presented by eighteen cultivators complaining to the Board that “they have been cruelly deprived of the privilege of opium cultivation on which they and their families have solely depended.” I have also another petition from other ryots to the same effect. These petitions are dated March and June 1851. It has always been one of the most severe modes of punishment in the Opium Department to deprive a ryot of his license to cultivate, for smuggling or other misconduct. This was of course only a punishment so long as opium was a much more profitable crop than it is now; the rise of prices of other crops has made opium now less remunerative, and Government has been compelled to raise the price from rupees 3-4 to 4 per seer.

3657. Baboo C. M. Chatterjee.] Do you know that the planters assist the ryots with medicines when they are sick, and with loans when their houses are blown down, and that they establish schools for the education of the ryots’ children, and do not the planters construct roads and offer other collateral advantages, which in some measure compensate for the want of direct profit to the ryots?—In the districts in which I have been, I have never seen schools or dispensaries or other establishments erected by planters, but I believe it is the habit of every planter as well as of every Englishman to have a family medicine chest, out of which he no doubt may give an occasional dose to a ryot, but from my knowledge of the ryot I am of opinion that a dose of medicine is considered as anything but a collateral advantage, and I cannot think that any amount of medicine would be considered by them as an equivalent for loss of liberty and money which the Indigo cultivation involves. I have heard that in Mulnath, Nischindipore, and Salgamoodia there are dispensaries kept up by planters, but even these would not compensate the ryots of Moorshehabad and Malda for the losses which they sustained by the cultivation of Indigo. I have heard of occasional loans been given, without interest, on the loss of cattle and other accidents of that description, but they are always carried to the ryots’ Indigo Account, and I knew of roads having been made by planters between their out-factories, and in such places as without such roads the plant could not have

been brought into the Factory, but I can call to my mind no single instance of a road being constructed for the public good. I have known planters who were useful members of the Ferry Fund Committee.

3658. *President.*] Do you not think the establishment of large Concerns causes a considerable circulation of money in a district?—I do not consider that the establishment of such concerns has the effect of bringing into any district any amount of capital, which would not find its way there, without such concerns. For instance, if a lac of rupees is sent up to carry on an Indigo Concern for one year, the amount which would find its way into the hands of the ryots would be at most 50,000 rupees, supposing every ryot received a full payment of two rupees per beegah, while I believe he seldom ever receives that amount; this would represent a cultivation of 25,000 beegahs, and it would be a sum which would not remunerate for the cost of cultivation. If on the other hand these 25,000 beegahs had been left in the hands of the ryots to produce a crop giving a profit of ten rupees a beegah, the amount brought into the district from the sale of that crop would be two lacs and 50,000 rupees, therefore so far from the Concern having done good by distributing in the district half a lac, it keeps two lacs out of the district, which would have come in, had the ryots had the use of their own lands.

3659. *Mr. Fergusson.*] Are you aware that this particular blue dye is the largest dyeing material used in the world, and one of the largest articles of sea-borne commerce in the world?—I believe it to be so.

3660. Are you aware that four-fifths of the whole of the Indigo produced in the world come from the territories of your late Hon'ble Masters?—I am aware that in the year 1600, Indigo was the main staple by which the E. I. Company made their profits, and that for many years they fostered the trade and made it what it is; but at one period it was found to grow better in the West Indies; and after carrying on the trade for a century, the East India Company gave up Indigo as an article of investment in favor of our West Indian Colonies; but in the West Indies, as now in this country, it was found to be less profitable than other crops, and was given up and again taken up by the East India Company, who having lost £80,000 in the year 1779 by contract, magnanimously made it over to their servants and to private traders.

The East India Agents being unable to advance money to enable the settlers to carry on the trade, the East India Company therefore with a view of fostering and encouraging the cultivation of Indigo in this country, advanced to the Indigo Planters at various times no less than a million of money, and in one year advanced no less than £187,000; it is to their special protection that the present trade in Indigo is to be attributed and not to private capitalists. I derive this information from the East India Company's memorandum on private trade dated 1806, published by order of Parliament.

3661. *President.*] Considering the great importance of the Indigo Trade, can you suggest any changes in the present system so that it should work well between planter and ryot?—The only changes I can suggest are that the trade should be a fair, open, and voluntary trade; and I believe that Indigo would then find its own value in the market as readily as any other article of trade; I believe that if it was left to competition, the plant would soon find its own price, and one which would remunerate both parties; if it cannot do this, then there is something special in the nature of the dye which makes it unsuitable to this country as an agricultural speculation. I certainly cannot recommend any *modification* of the present system, but that it should be entirely done away with, root and branch, and that real protection should be afforded to the ryots, who would then doubtless give it at a remunerative rate, without any necessity of special laws, or illegal compulsion. I do not, however, think that with the memory of the past, they will cultivate it on any terms for some years to come.

3662. Have you any objection to planters holding courts, provided that ryots attend voluntarily?—I believe it to be open to very great abuse, and I believe that a planter cannot help being prejudiced in favour of some ryot to the detriment of the others. But if any two ryots refer any question or dispute to the arbitration of the planter, I should think it would be very desirable that they should do so, but I strongly object to any planter being put in a position to give effect to a decision to which both parties do not agree.

3663. Do you think that the establishment of Indigo factories has the effect of diminishing crimes and felonies, and does it not increase affrays and agrarian outrages?—No; for I have observed that in some

districts where there are no factories whatever, there are comparatively few violent crimes. As regards dacoity, I believe that those who are principally engaged in dacoity, are men who have been brought up as *luttials*, and who first learnt violence and plunder in agrarian outrages; and I believe that *luttials* are to be found in greater numbers in Indigo districts than in non-Indigo districts. Mr. Ricketts, the late Member of Council, officially expressed a strong opinion, that the establishment of Indigo factories increased rather than decreased violent crimes. In the province of Orissa, in which there are no Indigo concerns, burglary and theft are as constant occurrences as in any district in Bengal, but dacoity and affray are entirely unknown.

3664. Mr. *Fergusson*.] Then, you do not think that the residence of European gentlemen in the interior has improved either the physical or moral condition of the people?—Although I have no doubt, that there are many individuals who have done great good and rendered assistance to the authorities, yet, as a general rule, I do not think the residence of Indigo Planters has improved to any great extent the physical or moral condition of the people. I believe there are to be found more bad characters settled around Indigo factories, than in distant villages in which an European has never been seen. My remarks do not apply either to silk manufactories or rum distillers or Sunderbund settlers: of the latter of whom I had a great many in my district, but against whom I never had a single complaint. I allude only to the Indigo Planters who, as a rule, live in constant antagonism with the people around them—a state of things which cannot conduce to the peace of the country.

3665. *President*.] Have you ever known of cases in which a planter did not enhance rents in a putni or ijara on condition that the ryot should cultivate Indigo?—I believe the ryots always paid the full rents which a planter is legally entitled to collect, even in ijaras in which no special ijardarri fee is taken, but the general rule of planters who hold ijaras, is to collect a special fee of one or two annas per rupee in excess of the legal rents to repay the expense of the farm or the putni, as for instance, Mr. Larmour in my district took an ijardari fee of one-half anna per rupee.

3666. Had you any Missionaries in Baraset, or did the influence of



\*other Missionaries extend to Baraset?—With the exception of a native preacher in the town of Baraset, and with the exception of a gentleman once passing through the district in a boat, I never saw or heard of a Missionary the whole time I was in Baraset, and I am quite convinced, that no influence direct or indirect has been exercised by any Missionary over the ryots of Baraset. \*

3667. Do you know a substantial ryot named Amir Biswas of Baraset, who has tobacco lands, and sows Indigo?—I know him very well, he is one of the most influential and respectable ryots in the district of Baraset, he is a *jotedar* with large property.

3668. Mr Fergusson.] Do you think that if you had issued a *parwana* embodying the words of Section XI of Act X, it would have the effect of inducing most ryots to withhold their rents, and what is your opinion as to the withdrawal of that power from the zemindars? —I do not think that if I had issued a *parwana* embodying that Section, that it would have had any such effect upon the ryot. For since the passing of that Act, I have done all in my power to make the ryots acquainted with the provisions of that Act, and when they have complained, I have speedily pointed out Section XI and it has not had the effect of inducing them to withhold their lawful rents. This refers to Cuttack I was not in Baraset when the Act was brought into operation. I believe that Section is one of the greatest boons that has ever been granted to the ryots during the present century. It rescinds a law which was the main cause of half the oppression, which they as ryots have suffered ever since the date of the permanent settlement?

3669. Have you no doubts as to the effects of the withdrawal of that power from zemindars, and does it not appear to you likely that the consequences may be the forfeiture of many estates from ryots refusing or delaying to pay rents?—No, I apprehend no such results; it leaves in the hands of the zemindars full power to send over to demand the rent, and any other power beyond that with which it could be invested, would have the effect of again reducing the ryots to the practical serfdom in which they were before the passing of that Act. I have consulted several zemindars in Cuttack and elsewhere, who appear to apprehend no difficulty whatever of this description, and moreover since the passing of this Act, it would not appear that the landed property had been at all

depreciated in value: for a few weeks ago, I sold an estate for 'arrears of revenue, the sudder jumma of it was 814 rupees, and the surplus collections 462 rupees, for no less a sum than 24,000 rupees and this too in a non-permanently settled district. Had there been any such apprehension as that alluded to, no man would have invested his money in this way.

3670. *President.*] Have you ever had any personal difference with any European Planter?—Never of any sort or description, except in connection with the performance of my duties as Magistrate.

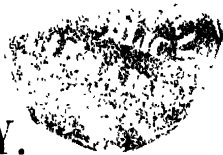
3671 Can you state if a new purchaser of a factory pays in full for the outstanding balances in addition to the buildings for the factory? —The Baraset Concern was purchased by Mr. Prestwich for 1,50,000 rupees. The outstanding balances were rupees 1,14,474-2-10, after deducting the value of block, stock ijans, and *dena pouna*, the price given for the outstanding Indigo balance must have been little more than nominal.







## BETHUNE SOCIETY.



PURSUANT to notice, a Public Meeting of the Bethune Society was held at the Theatre of the Medical College, on Thursday, the 10th September 1863, at 8 P. M., to take into consideration the best means of commemorating the services rendered to the Society by its late President the Revd. ALEXANDER DUFF, D. D. L. L. D.

The meeting was most numerously and respectably attended, the spacious theatre of the Medical College being literally crowded to over-flowing. Besides the European and Native Members of the Society, there were many distinguished Visitors, among whom were the Hon'ble Sir Charles Trevelyan, K. C. B., several members of the Civil and Military Services, Clergymen and Native gentlemen of rank.

At the appointed hour, Rajah Pertaup Chunder Sing Bahadur, Vice-President, took the chair, and introduced the business of the meeting with the following opening remarks:—

“GENTLEMEN,—The occasion which has called us together this evening is one of no ordinary importance. We are here assembled to express our admiration and respect for Dr. Duff, who, for the last four years, had presided over our Society with all that zeal, energy and earnestness which so eminently characterized all his actions. We cannot but deeply regret the loss which not only this Society but all India sustains by his retirement. Few persons had ever come to this country who had more at heart the good of the people of India. He was the best friend and promoter of Native Education. I hope many of my friends here present will be able to do ample justice to the virtues of this eminent philanthropist, and to the several propositions which we are about to consider in connection with his great services to our Society. I leave it into their hands, and to the good sense of this large assembly to determine upon the best means of testifying our veneration and gratitude to Dr. Duff.”

The Secretary of the Society then read a letter from the Revd. T. H. Burn, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, expressing his Lordship's sympathy with the members of the Bethune Society in the object of their meeting to do honor to

DR. DUFF. His Lordship quite intended to have written himself to express his cordial sense of the importance of the object and his hearty appreciation of DR. DUFF's character and services, but he had only that moment arrived from the Sandheads. The announcement of his Lordship having been an invalid for some time past was received with deep concern by the members.

Letters were read from the Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor, Baboo Romanauth Tagore, Lalla Iscepersaud, the Revd. K. M. Banerjee, Rajah Narendra Krishna Bahadoor, Baboo Rajendra Lala Mitra and Baboo Trannauth Chatterjee, regretting their inability from ill-health and other circumstances to attend the meeting that evening; but all expressing their warm desire to support the movement for a fitting Memorial for DR. DUFF's services.

The Secretary now read the following letter from DR. DUFF, addressed to the members of the Council of the Bethune Society, resigning, in consequence of ill-health, his Office as President.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY.

DEAR GENTLEMEN,

It is now about four years ago since the members of the Society were pleased kindly to invite me to become their President.

Some of you may remember the extreme reluctance with which I was led to undertake the office—not on account of its unimportance, but the contrary. From my own views of the duties and responsibilities connected with such an office, I keenly felt that the proper and adequate discharge of them would require more time, toil and healthful energy than it was possible for me to bestow upon them.

Yielding, at last, however, to the importunity of some of the oldest and most tried of its members, I accepted the office with all its duties and responsibilities.

Soon afterwards the Society was split up and divided into Sections, for the more exclusive and vigorous pursuit of specific objects;—each having its own President and Secretary.

Some of these Sections—especially that of General Education under Mr. Woodrow, of Literature and Philosophy under Mr. Cowel, of Sociology under Mr. Long and of Sanatory Improvement under Drs. Mouat and Brougham, met from time to time and wrought out some admirable results. About a year ago, through death or removal from Calcutta, most of the Sections became partially disorganized, while some threatened to sink into a state of inanition.

Towards the close of last session, vigorous attempts were made to put the Section on Female Education and Improvement on an efficient footing—under the Presidentship of Kumar Harendra Krishna—and not without great and marked success.

Lately, I was conferring with some of the members, about the propriety of calling an early meeting of Council, with a view to reinvigorate the working of all the Sections before the commencement of another session.

The general meetings have proved throughout these four years a series of signal successes—as was evidenced by the social rank, position, talents and accomplishments of the Lecturers,—the overflowing audiences that were wont to assemble, and among them some of the most distinguished members of European and Native Society—the attractive and practically useful character of the subjects chosen for lectures from which selections have been published in a handsome volume—and above all, the stimulating and healthful influences which constantly emanated from the lectures, discussions and animating addresses which usually closed the proceedings of the evening—influences which have been found pervading and leavening the central masses of native society, far and wide.

Lately, I had begun the task of securing able and qualified Lecturers for the ensuing session. But the services of only one—that one, however, an host in himself, I allude to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who has kindly consented to deliver the opening lecture in November next—were secured, when it pleased Almighty God suddenly to lay me aside with severe illness. It is, as laid prostrate on a bed of sickness that I now write. Though the malady, in its worst form, has been fairly arrested, any thing like perfect recovery from its effects, is not to be anticipated in such a climate as that of Bengal during the rainy season. I am, therefore, ordered by my Medical attendants to leave Calcutta forthwith. Arrangements have, accordingly, been made for my getting on board a Steamer which, on Monday next, is to proceed to the Straits. Before the end of the rainy season, that is, practically, the close of October, I am forbidden to return to the metropolis—Whether I may be able to return even then is, of course, uncertain.—But if I should, intimation has reached me of events in Scotland, which render it, in the highest degree improbable, that I shall ever again settle down, as a resident inhabitant of Calcutta.

Under these peculiar circumstances, I deem it an imperative duty, at once, absolutely and unconditionally, to resign into your hands the important and responsible office of President of the Bethune Society—in order that you may have ample time and leisure to select another before the commencement of the next session;—the appointment of any Gentleman selected by you being subject to confirmation at the first general meeting of the Society.



And now, dear gentlemen, having discharged this simple act of duty, I would fain add some thing more. But you will excuse me, as I cannot ; my extreme weakness forbids the attempt.

I cannot, however, close without testifying, in the strongest way, to the ready and able assistance always cheerfully rendered to me, by the late Secretary, Baboo Ramchunder Mitter, the present Secretary, Baboo Koylaschunder Bose, the Treasurer, Baboo Hurromohun Chatterjee—with the Presidents and Secretaries of the different Sections. Without the zealous, energetic, indefatigable co-operation of them, it would have been altogether impossible to have led the Society onwards to the position of importance and prosperity which it has now reached.

Trusting, therefore, that in your hands the Society will continue to enjoy an onward course of abounding prosperity, I wish you all a hearty *Farewell!* May you fare well in time ! May you fare well through all eternity !

Believe me,

Yours sincerely and faithfully,

13th July 1863.

ALEXANDER DUFF.

The Honorable *Shumbhoonauth Pundit* rose to move the 1st Resolution and spoke as follows :—

We have met together to-night for the pleasing task of taking into consideration how to mark our esteem and respect for the vast amount of benefits, derived by the Bethune Society from the kind-hearted philanthropist, the Revd. A. Duff, our last President, whom illness has compelled to depart from us.

Bengal is indebted to this eminent person for more good than I can describe.

From the first he happily adopted Education of the Natives of this country as the means to obtain his desired end, and laboured hard to raise the standard of this education higher than he found existing.

The history of the intellectual progress of the natives of this country for the last thirty-five years will be imperfect, if in it no allusion is made to the labours and the career of this individual.

It was owing chiefly to the zeal and industry and the impulsive appeals of the Revd. Gentleman that Government was induced to take a higher, a broader and a more liberal view of the necessity and obligation of diffusing general and useful knowledge among the people of this country, and to adopt measures for rewarding the efforts of those who are trying to *learn* and of those who provide means to *teach*.

If any thing good was required to be secured for his fellow-creatures, if any relief was to be given to them, the Revd. Gentleman was found to be the foremost, and never cared for labour and annoyance.

His piety, his zeal, his perseverance, his charitable disposition, his learning, his powers of expression, his sound and liberal views and his constant desire to do good to his fellow-creatures, would have secured him a position, name and fame in any country and in any profession that he might have adopted. It was a fortunate thing for *Ben* that he chose the profession of a Missionary, and happily, as I have already said, elected Education as the means for the object he had in view.

The Calcutta University owes him a great debt of gratitude. It was through his indefatigable labours and exertions, assisted by his honorable and worthy colleagues, that he brought that institution to its present state of organization, usefulness and perfection.

This Society owes much to Dr. DUFF. You my friends, yourselves, know how much assistance you have, for the last four years, derived from him.

At a time when the Society, from causes over which perhaps the individual members or rather the leading members of the institution had no control, was dwindling into decay, though his valuable time was already fully occupied, he zealously and cheerfully accepted the post offered to him, and by his labours, zeal and perseverance and his example, restored vigour to it, secured re-organization, and placed it upon a solid basis.

It was owing to his aid, that the Society arrived at a position which enables me to say that it is one of the best of Native Literary and Scientific Societies for diffusing useful information and intellectual and social recreation, that we have, if not throughout India, at least in Bengal.

We cannot but deeply regret, that such a true friend of our country and of this Society, is compelled by ill-health to leave us, and therefore I have the honor to move the following resolution :—

“That this meeting of the members of the Bethune Society desires to place on record the deep concern and sympathy with which they receive the resignation of their President ; and to express an earnest hope and prayer for his restoration to health and usefulness.”

*Dr. Norman Chevers*, in rising to second the resolution, addressed the Meeting to the following effect :—

SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Although I feel the duty of seconding the proposition now before the Meeting to be one of pleasure and honor, I deem it right to explain my reasons for having accepted it. Although the European members of the Bethune Society join with enthusiasm, in this demonstration of respect towards their President, this is essentially a meeting of native gentlemen eager to testify their sense of gratitude to Dr. Duff for the benefits which he has conferred upon their nation during a career of thirty-four years.

I have, therefore, only presumed to consent to perform this duty considering that—as you, Sir, occupy the Chair in the capacity of one of our Vice-Presidents, I, as the other Vice President, could not, with propriety, have opposed the Council's desire that I should take part in these proceedings. I do so with the greater pleasure remembering that, nearly five years ago, I urged upon the Society the fact that Dr. Duff was, then, the fittest person in Calcutta to become our President; and that I took an active part in persuading him to accept the office. The task of passing eulogia upon eminent living characters is one of great delicacy. It presumes a kind of equality between the complimenter and the complimented. It demands scrupulous accuracy in each expression that the praise may neither exceed nor fall short of truth. I cannot lay claim to the happiness of an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Duff; I shall, therefore, only presume to attribute to him those qualities which every one who has watched his public career must have recognized with admiration. Among these appear, prominently, great laboriousness; indomitable energy; humanity of the highest order and widest comprehensiveness; a kingly nature; a mind of right-royal power; knowledge almost universal in its scope; eloquence like a torrent of living water carrying all hearts with it. If you seek evidence of the fact how gratefully the youth of Calcutta love him, look up upon those crowded benches; there, to my knowledge, a large body of young native gentlemen, the rising intellect of Calcutta, have now been seated for nearly four hours, patiently holding their places in the heat and darkness of the theatre, that they might not be backward in doing honor to their revered Teacher. As evidence of the feeling of the educated native gentry, I may, without breach of confidence, repeat what I heard a few days since from one of the most honorable, amiable and enlightened men in Calcutta, the oldest surviving officer of the Government Educational Department, my dear friend Baboo Ramchunder Mitter. He said that his acquaintance with Dr. Duff commenced three days after

that gentleman landed in Calcutta, some four and thirty years ago, and that, since that time, frequent intercourse had confirmed in his mind the conviction that Dr. Duff is (I use his very words) "the truest and most constant friend of the people of India." If, Sir, I have read Dr. Duff's nature and career rightly, I believe that—when in the fulness of time, he shall be called to his rest—he would not be unwilling that these words should be written on his tomb—*The true and constant Friend of the People of India*. With these words still ringing in your ears, I lay the proposition before you.

Baboo Wopendro Mohun Tagore moved the 2nd Resolution.  
He said :—

GENTLEMEN,

I have been requested to move the 2nd Resolution. I wish it had been entrusted to an abler hand, who would have done justice to the subject. Before introducing the Resolution, I beg to say a few words. It is a matter of deep regret that, by the resignation of the Revd. Dr. Duff as our President, this Society suffers a great loss, so much so, that it will be long before you find another to fill up the place so ably as he has done. Gentlemen, you are well aware with what zeal he worked for the well-being of this Institution and how he introduced many reforms for its improvement. His loss will not only be felt by this Society but all over India. It is he who has raised the social, moral and political status of our countrymen by imparting education to thousands and thousands of natives. For what can raise a nation to eminence but Education of which he was a great promoter and second to none. With these introductory remarks I beg to move the 2nd Resolution :—

" That the following address be presented to the Revd. Dr. DUFF, testifying to the high sense entertained by the Society of the eminent services rendered by him, and to the regret felt by all on his resigning the Office of President."

TO THE REVd. A. DUFF, D. D. L. L. D.

SIR,

We, the undersigned Members of the Bethune Society, desire to convey to you an earnest expression of the regret felt by us all on your ceasing to be our President, and of our gratitude for the benefits which, as its Head, you have conferred upon our Society.

From the day on which, at the entreaty of its Members, you consented to occupy the Presidential chair, a new life was imparted to the proceedings of the Society ; and the sphere of its usefulness became widely extended.

The Society, by being divided into Sections, which, under your immediate direction and control, have worked in perfect harmony as a whole, assumed a character of practical importance which the volume of its "Transactions" published last year, at no small sacrifice of your time, labour and patience, sufficiently illustrates.

You have, Sir, conferred no ordinary boon on the Society by prominently developing that element in its constitution which essays to bring into close and familiar intercourse the educated classes of Europeans and Natives, thereby promoting sentiments of good will and kindness in both.

It is with the highest satisfaction that we view the position of importance and stability which the Society has attained. The prosperity of the Bethune Society, in recent times, is the work of your own strong will and unbending energy, and of a zeal that knows no flagging. That will, that energy, and that zeal have, for thirtyfour years, been devoted to India and her welfare.

As an Educator and a Philanthropist, your name will remain ever enshrined in the grateful remembrance of the people of this country.

When the future historian of India has occasion to pass under review, the progress of education and enlightenment among her millions, his history will be incomplete if it omits to mention your labours and the success attending them.

We are deeply impressed with admiration, esteem and affection for the noble qualities of your mind and heart, qualities which you have brought so conspicuously to bear on the discharge of your duties as President of this Society. You exhibited in the Presidential chair a singular dignity and equanimity ; a patience almost inimitable, and a keen sense and appreciation of the wants, wishes and feelings of the members.

You warmly fostered and encouraged the spirit of free debate which you yourself ever temperately moderated with the breadth and liberality of your views, and the magic power of your eloquence.

We deeply regret, Sir, that ill-health has compelled you to resign the Office of President. We earnestly hope for the speedy restoration of your health and we pray that the fullest blessings which the bounty of All-merciful Providence can confer on man may crown and make happy your honorable retirement.

We bid you affectionately farewell.

Baboo *Greesh Chunder Mitter* seconded the motion and addressed the meeting as follows :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

In the absence of the gentleman who was to have seconded the Resolution just proposed by my respected friend Baboo Wopendro Mohun Tagore, I have had the honor of being requested to supply his place.

In complying with this request I feel an unfeigned pleasure, but, at the same time, I feel no little uneasiness.

The part I have been called upon to perform, is a very difficult one, and I am conscious of my own inability to do justice to it. This is what makes me uneasy. I wish it had fallen to the lot of some abler and worthier person to perform it. But because I do not possess sufficient ability to do justice to Dr. Duff, it must not be supposed that I yield to any one in my admiration of his talents and his virtues. This is perhaps my best excuse for venturing to intrude upon your indulgence for a few minutes.

To speak adequately of the services which the Revd. Alexander Duff has rendered to our Society since his connection with it, as its President, is not an easy task. To speak adequately of his public career in this country and of the amount of good he has done to, and the incalculable benefits he has conferred upon it, during a long and eventful period of five and thirty years' residence in India, is an almost hopeless undertaking.

Gentlemen, you have already been told by the learned speakers who have preceded me what Dr. Duff has done for our Society, and therefore what is left for me to do is perhaps only to reiterate the sentiments expressed by them. There is scarcely one point upon which I can say any thing new. But from my connection with the Society as its Assistant Secretary, I had peculiar opportunities of knowing what he did for it ; and I can well say, that there has seldom been witnessed another instance of a person actuated solely and wholly by the spirit of doing good, sacrificing his time and health without the least concern for either. The volume of the Society's "Transactions" which was got up entirely under his personal superintendence and to which allusion has been made in

the address will abundantly testify to the sacrifice of time to which he cheerfully submitted.

Dr. Duff's object was to establish the Society on a sounder basis than it ever stood upon ; and it will be admitted on all hands that he had attained his object before he resigned the Presidentship. Some of the best scholars among Europeans in India and the Natives of the country have given us lectures upon important literary and scientific subjects ; the highest officials have attended our meetings ; the audience, upon almost every occasion, has been both large and respectable. The discussions that have taken place in this Hall have been equally interesting and edifying. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to say that, before Dr. Duff joined it, the Society was not in a flourishing condition ; what I mean, is, that it became during Dr. Duff's connection with it a more flourishing institution than it ever was. And, as it is, persons of whatever rank, influence or intelligence, would not consider it beneath their dignity to be enrolled among its members. But it was not Dr. Duff's only object to make the Bethune Society a respectable literary and scientific institution. He had other objects in view, and perhaps the chief of them was to give the educated European and the educated Native an opportunity of knowing each other and becoming friends ;—such knowledge and such friendship being better calculated than any thing else to heal that breach which unfortunately has existed between them for some time past and which no one regretted more than Dr. Duff. This object, I am happy to say, was also to a great extent attained, and had not ill-health compelled him to retire from the country, he would have contrived in his usual judicious manner to remove every vestige of the so-called antagonism of race.

I come now to Dr. Duff's public career—a career of uniform usefulness and of singular success. The address which has been submitted for your adoption is only an attempt at a summary of what he did for our country. I say it is only an attempt, and I say so advisedly. Where volumes could be written of him, an address cannot but be an imperfect record of his labors ; as a medium for the expression of our gratitude, it must be a still more imperfect document.

In whatever light we view him, he is an object of veneration and an object of love. As an Educator, he perhaps did more than any other European gentleman. The celebrated Education Despatch of 1854 is founded upon his suggestions ; and the Calcutta University,—that useful Institution whose destiny yet remains undeveloped,—received from Dr. Duff all the care which an affectionate parent bestows upon a new-born child. Besides this, he established schools in different parts of the country, which impart instruction in literature, science and morals to

thousands of the poorer classes of our boys and girls. As a kind-hearted man, his voice was ever exerted on behalf of suffering humanity. Was there a famine in Scotland or Ireland, Dr. Duff appealed to the sympathy of the public of Calcutta in the Town Hall, and by his eloquence so moved men's hearts, that tears flowed from their eyes as plentifully as gold and silver coins from their purses. Was there a famine in our own North-Western Provinces, the same voice was heard describing in glowing language the horrors of the calamity, and awakening in hearts immured in the Zenana of a Hindoo family of distinction, an active sympathy for the myriads dying of hunger and cold. Such a man has been compelled by ill-health to bid us farewell. Such a man has now departed from the shores of our country; and who is there that does not feel, that his absence from India is a national calamity? Who is there that will not feel pride in doing honor to such a friend of his country? and who is there, I ask, that will not acknowledge that India, with all her developed and undeveloped resources, can never hope to make a suitable return for the services rendered to her by this Prince of Philanthropists.

*Baboo Greesh Chunder Ghose* moved the 3rd Resolution and said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

It is an occasion of no ordinary interest or importance that has called into this Hall this Flower of Calcutta Society. If every other accessory to an enthusiastic and unanimous demonstration were wanting, the presence amongst us for the first time in a public manner of the Finance Minister to the Government of India, whose private virtues and public policy have endeared him to every educated native gentleman in this vast empire, is a proof and a guarantee that the object for the consummation of which we are assembled here to-night is one which commands the respect and carries with it the feelings of all classes and grades of a community so vast and so varied that its unanimity may well be regarded as a token of gigantic significance.

The name of the Revd. Dr. Alexander Duff is familiar to us like a household word. We have been accustomed to hear it from our very childhood. It is a name which strikes a chord in our hearts connected with the best and the holiest of our inspirations and the noblest of our springs of thought and feeling. For the last 34 years, it has mingled prominently in every scheme of education, of intelligent combination for great, literary and social purposes of philanthropy and public good.



To only those personally acquainted with that Prince of Indian Missionaries, it is given to form a faithful and correct estimate of the qualities and the collection of great virtues which made him a beacon of hope and of guidance to all who needed such an aid at a time when the prospects of education, of civilization, in the East were so poor, I may well say, so desolate that the most sanguine believers in the theory of progress stood with their arms across their breast in blank despair—But the bold, undismayed spirit of Dr. Alexander Duff, discovered light, through the terrifying gloom which overcast the horizon. On all sides, North and South, East and West, the ordinary beholder saw only the densest clouds of prejudice, and passion more inveterate and stupifying in its effects than prejudice. The Native mind refused the boon of knowledge with an obstinacy the story of which does doubtless appear fabulous at the present day—yet time was, though it has passed away, when it was persistently declared to be sinful to learn a language which was emphatically the language of heterodoxy.

What I now say may well be disbelieved by a generation born to its destiny under opportunities created by the super-human efforts of the first pioneers of Indian education, Alexander Duff, and David Hare. Yet their grand fathers could tell them of a day when learning was proscribed and in many instances had to be pursued under persecution.

The Revd. Dr. Duff's labors in the cause of Indian regeneration commenced exactly at that alarming period of Indian ignorance. They were pursued with unremitting energy and perseverance for the space of a quarter of a century and more. No impediment was so great that he could not overcome it, no opposition so virulent that he could not paralyse its force and fury. He went manfully to his work with the strength of the Titans and the meek spirit of his Saviour and his old age was rewarded with the triumph for which he had battled in his youth. I could keep you, gentlemen, listening for days and nights to the details and the hazards of that victory which, to the majority of the present audience, appears to be one of an ordinary nature. Little dream they that the normality of the present day is the result of the sublimest efforts of minds such as that of Dr. Duff and of those influenced by his great example into identical courses of action.

That the Education Despatch of 1854, the great charter of Indian intelligence, was wholly owing to the inspiration and persistent pressure of the gentleman to whom we have met together, is a fact which has assumed the shape of a conviction in every mind. That one service would have sufficed to place the Revd. Dr. Duff on a pedestal higher than that of the average run of benefactors. But when we add to it the incidents of a life which was one bright page of self-denial and self-

imposed labor of the Herculean order, cheerfully incurred and undertaken on behalf of a foreign people, we increase the dimensions of his standpoint to a height not yet attained by any Indian Hero or Philanthropist.

On Dr. Duff's other and secondary qualities, it is not for me to dilate. Those gentlemen who have preceded me in moving the resolutions have already done justice to them. Who does not remember with pleasure and a feeling of reverence, the time when he personally superintended the public examinations of all the schools and colleges in Calcutta whether under the control of Government or of private individuals. It was indeed a delight to come face to face with an individual who sunk the feelings of the examiner into those of the tutor and instructed whilst he tested the attainments of the student. My personal recollection of such scenes is one of the acutest delight.

During the latter part of his Indian career, Dr. Duff had turned his earnest mind to the work of Native Female Education. From his own funds, he founded a school in Simlah, which, though it did not afford much promise at the outset, has recently been brought to such a high state of improvement, that I believe the girls attending it will soon be able to compete for the Entrance Examination.

To such an individual any thing that the nation can do in the way of a memorial must indeed be insufficient. My present proposition, however, is, in connection with the Bethune Society to which his genius has given a standing and a shape not contemplated by its original founders. I believe, I carry with me the feelings of this vast gathering, when I say that a statue of gold would not be an unfitting testimonial of a man whose services we can never sufficiently value; and, though the wealth of the country and its feelings on the subject might encourage me to move for such a costly token, yet prudential motives and the weak resources of the Bethune Society have compelled us to confine our gratitude to the limit of a portrait. I, therefore, beg to move the following resolution, in the ardent hope that the funds required to carry it out will be speedily forthcoming:—

“That a fund be raised by the members and well-wishers of the Society for the purpose of commemorating the highly successful Presidentship of Dr. Duff by a portrait, which is to remain the property of the Society, and is to be preserved in some public building of this metropolis, as the Society may hereafter determine upon.”

The *Revd. Lal Behari Dê*, on seconding the Resolution, spoke as follows :—

There are two leading ideas contained in the resolution which has just been moved, and which I have been requested to second. One idea is that, Dr. Duff's Presidentship of the Bethune Society has been a highly successful one ; and the other idea is that, it is desirable to commemorate the successful Presidentship of the Reverend Doctor by his portrait. It is worthy of notice, Sir, that the resolution does not assert in a formal manner that Dr. Duff's Presidentship has been highly successful, far less does it attempt to prove the proposition. The resolution takes it for granted that Dr. Duff's Presidentship has been highly successful. And it is as well that that is taken for granted. For, it is well known to every member of this Society—it is well known to every one acquainted with the proceedings of this Society, that the most successful period of its history has been exactly that during which its destinies were guided by the genius and energy of Alexander Duff. But when, Sir, can it be said of the Presidentship of a Literary Society like ours, that it is successful ? Evidently, when it exhibits a large amount of literary activity, when its meetings are crowded by eager and anxious spectators, and when it commands the respect and gains the confidence of the wise and the good. Now, I appeal to my fellow-members—I appeal to the public, whether all this has not characterized the proceedings of the Bethune Society during the Presidentship of Dr. Duff. I appeal to my fellow-members whether there has not been in the midst of us a large amount of literary activity. Witness the published minutes of our monthly meetings—witness the proceedings of the several Sections into which our Society is divided—witness the handsome volume, to which allusion has already been made this evening, the like of which the Society never put forth since the commencement of its history. With reference to crowded meetings, I am sure it will be admitted by every one here present that our meetings have never been so crowded as when the Chair was occupied by Dr. Duff ; while, as occasional spectators, we have had in the midst of us His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, the Hon'ble members of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council, Rajahs and Roy Bahadoors not of Bengal only but of the North-West and of Central India, and Zemindars without number. Nor has Dr. Duff's Presidentship been unattended with practical good. It has added an impetus to the cause of Native Education. It has put it into the hearts of some of our countrymen to begin in right earnest the noble work of emancipating our wives and our daughters from the thralldom of ignorance. It has exerted those beneficial influences of which Dr. Duff speaks in his letter read here this evening

—influences which have caused themselves to be felt in the very heart of Hindu Society. It has, in fine, produced, in a great measure, brotherly concord and amity between Europeans and the children of the soil.

It may be asked, what qualities of Dr. Duff made his Presidentship of the Bethune Society so successful? This, Sir, is a very wide question; and to do it justice requires a complete analysis of the mental, moral, and I may add, the physical constitution of Dr. Duff. I do not, however, pretend to attempt any thing of the sort in the present occasion. Let me briefly advert to one or two leading peculiarities of his character. And the first that I shall mention is his great earnestness, his noble enthusiasm. It is a remarkable feature in the character of that illustrious man whom we have met this evening to honor, that he throws his whole soul into whatever he undertakes. He throws his whole soul—his whole being—into every action he performs, almost into every word he utters. It is this which has made him so successful in every thing that he undertook. And his enthusiasm is of a contagious character. It infected—by a noble sort of infection—every person within the range of its influence. The next quality that I shall mention is Dr. Duff's eloquence. Dr. Duff may not be a graceful orator. His voice may not be highly musical—his action may not be modelled to the utmost grace and propriety—his expressions may not be the selectest and the most delicate—his periods may not flow with the elegance of harmonious modulation—his pronunciation may not be the most accurate—his delivery may not be the chastest—but if Dr. Duff is not a *graceful*, he is a *great* orator. I may not compare Dr. Duff's oratory to a gentle brook, running through a cultivated meadow, guided by its own sweet will. Dr. Duff's oratory partakes rather—as has been already remarked this evening by Dr. Chevers—of the nature of a cataract, rushing down with impetuosity, and carrying every thing before it by its weight, its volume and its velocity. It has been remarked by a man, who was himself one of the most eloquent of Englishmen that “eloquence must flow like a stream which is fed by an abundant spring, and not spout forth a little frothy stream on some gaudy day, and remain dry for the rest of the year.” Such is the character of Dr. Duff's eloquence. The copiousness of his language is inexhaustible. His oratory is prepared for all emergencies—ever flowing, ever abundantly supplied from a mind richly stocked with all sorts of knowledge and information. Cicero describes in a well-known passage the effects produced by a great orator. The passage is as follows;—“Give me the orator who can produce the following effects. When it is once known that he is to speak, let there be the utmost impatience to secure places in the court, which

must be instantly crowded : let all be hurry and eagerness ; the Clerks and Officers must fly up and down with an obliging solicitude to provide seats and accommodations for the assembly. The auditors must press forward in a crowded circle. Let the judge be roused to the utmost attention. When the speaker rises, the audience must command silence ; all must be hushed, till some marks of approbation are extorted, and expressions of wonder break out at frequent intervals. If he would inspire them with mirth, the smile must be universal—if with sorrow, their tears must instantly flow. So that a person at a distance, though he does not know directly what piece is acting, must yet be witness of the powerful impression, and be assured that some great and favourite actor is on the stage. He that has such power we may pronounce the truly complete speaker ; as we have heard of Pericles, as of Hyperides, as of Æschines, as of Demosthenes"—and I may add, gentlemen, as of Alexander Duff.

But after all, Mr. Chairman, the true secret of Dr. Duff's success whether here in the Bethune Society or elsewhere, is the noble disinterestedness of his character. His earnestness—his enthusiasm—his energy—his eloquence, are all dedicated to the doing good to his fellow-men. His has been a life of self-sacrificing benevolence. He spent and has been spent for the good of the people of India. He has laid his body, his soul and spirit as a noble offering before the shrine of Philanthropy. It is this spirit of philanthropy, more than any thing else perhaps, which marks Dr. Duff as a truly great man. It is for this philanthropic spirit that India owes to him the debt immense of endless gratitude. And it is on account of that philanthropic spirit that we are assembled here this evening to take steps for rendering him suitable honour. And what shall be done to the man who has spent himself for our good ? What shall be done to him who has become a living martyr for our sake ? I quite agree with a preceding speaker that Dr. Duff deserves a statue of gold. But if we—I mean the Members of the Bethune Society—have not the means to get a statue of gold, or of marble either, let us at least have a portrait.

I have much pleasure, sir, in seconding the Resolution.

The 4th Resolution was moved by *Kowar Harendra Krishna Bahadoor*, who spoke as follows :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

After the very able speeches that have been delivered before you to-night by the gentlemen who have preceded me, recounting the valuable services rendered to our country by the Revd. Dr. Duff, I have little

to add. Yet I would be failing in my duty, were I not to say a word expressing my deep sense of gratitude for the eminent services rendered to us by the Revd. Gentleman, and my sincere regret that ill-health should have compelled him to leave our land at a time when the necessity of educating our girls remains yet to be felt in Hindoo Families, like that of educating our boys. Every one here present must have observed the great interest which he has always taken to further that object. I know of no occasion, whenever and wherever it occurred, in which he did not attempt, by the force of his masterly eloquence, to impress on the utility of that education—no heart perhaps rejoiced as his to hear of a Hindoo girl having been sent to school; and I am sure, gentlemen, had Dr. Duff lived in our country some eight or ten years more, the females of India would have moved in their circles to commemorate his services, as we have assembled here this night to do. With these observations I beg to move the 4th Resolution, which is as follows :—

“That a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number, be appointed for the purpose of carrying out the object of the foregoing resolutions, and that the Committee, for the time being, act as Trustees for the fund which may be raised by them :”

The Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Honorable A. Eden, Raja Pertaup Chunder Sing Bahadoor, Baboo Woopen-dro Mohun Tagore, The Honorable Shumboo Nauth Pundit, Moulvie Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor, Hugh McLardy Esqr., H. Woodrow Esqr., E. B. Cowell Esqr., Baboo Ram Gopaul Ghose, Baboo Ram Chunder Mitter, Revd. Lal Behari Dé, Baboo Khetter Mohun Chatterjee, Dr. N. Chevers, Baboo Koylas Chunder Bose, Baboo Hurro Mohun Chatterjee, Raja Kali Krishna Bahadoor, Kowar Harendra Krishna Bahadoor, and Baboo Degumber Mitter.

*Dr. Tameez Khan* in seconding the Resolution said :—

SIR,

It has fallen to my lot to second the Resolution moved by the last speaker.

The Honorable gentleman to whom this duty was originally entrusted has been compelled by an unavoidable engagement to keep himself away

from the meeting to-night ; otherwise he would have been exceedingly happy to join our proceedings, I mean the Hon'ble Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor, who, as a distinguished member of the Mahomedan community, and a zealous and active member of this Society, would have done his part with much better grace and ability than I can hope to do. I am a poor substitute for my friend on an occasion like the present ; but yet it is to me a pleasing duty, and I come forward at his request to second with my heart and soul the resolution moved by Kowar Harendro Krishna Bahadoor.

Baboo *Degumber Mitter* moved the 5th Resolution which was that

“ Dr. Duff be elected an Honorary Member of the Society.”

He commended the Resolution in a few appropriate sentences and concluded by remarking that in honoring Dr. Duff in the manner proposed, they would be only honoring themselves.

The Secretary of the Society, *Baboo Koylas Chunder Bose*, observed that the Resolution moved by his respected friend Baboo Degumber Mitter, spoke for itself, and he felt assured in his mind that there could be no difference of opinion in regard to that most deserved acknowledgment of the eminent services rendered to the Society by the man whom they had there met to honour. Those services had been so ably and so fully discussed that night that he was afraid lest, by venturing to adduce new arguments in favor of the motion which he had the honor of being called upon to second, he should weaken the effect of the impression which had been made upon the minds of the vast assembly there crowded before him almost to suffocation, by the Hon'ble gentlemen who had preceded him ; and seeing as he did, from the programme which he held in his hands, that there was no one to follow him to make amends for his shortcomings, he was the more forcibly reminded of the necessity there was for his not intruding upon the indulgence of the meeting too long. The object of that Resolution, as no one could fail to perceive, was, to compensate to some extent, for the loss which the Society incurred by the retirement of Doctor Duff, whose election, as an Honorary Member, would serve to keep up the link which connected them with him, and to buoy them with the hope that they might yet reckon on his invaluable aid in maintaining the lofty stand which the Society had taken.

The Secretary here remarked that he felt he would be wanting in his duty to the Meeting, which was honored for the first time with the presence of the Hon'ble Member for Finance of the Council of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General and other distinguished visitors, if he did not recapitulate the leading events connected with the rise and progress of their Society. Such recapitulation, he considered, would enable all, the better to appreciate the deepest obligations under which the members lay to their retired President.

Many of its oldest members, he remarked, would recollect that the first meeting of the Society was held at that Theatre on Thursday, the 11th of December 1851, under the Presidentship of Doctor Mouat who, to all intents and purposes, was its Founder. In order to perpetuate the name of the Hon'ble Drinkwater Bethune, Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, then lately deceased, and to "commemorate his great services in the cause of Native Female Education and Native Improvement generally," it was resolved, at that Meeting, that this Literary Institution should be denominated the Bethune Society. The first rule with which it set out was that "All educated persons interested in the objects of the meeting were eligible as members, and those objects were specified to be, the promotion of a taste among the educated natives of this country for literature and science, and the cultivation of free intellectual intercourse with each other, as well as with Europeans of liberal and cultivated minds. One of the rules proposed and approved at that Meeting was that discourses on Literary and Scientific subjects might be delivered at the Society's monthly meetings; *but none treating of Religion or Politics*. The Secretary here adverted to the increasing interest and usefulness of the Society under the able and zealous Presidentship of Doctor Mouat who secured the best available talent in Calcutta to deliver lectures on such important scientific subjects as Chemistry, Geology, the Electric Telegraph, the Microscope, Architecture and a great variety of other interesting and useful subjects. In the year 1853, Doctor Mouat resigned his office, and Mr. Hodgson Pratt of the Bengal Civil Service was chosen President of the Society. It was during his time that Mr. Hume, one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, had afforded to the Members and the Calcutta public a highly intellectual treat by his reading of the Merchant of Venice, and Colonel Goodwyn by his learned lecture on the Union of Science, Industry, and Art with a view to the formation of a School of Industrial Art and Design. That contemplated school within a few days of the delivery of the lecture became an accomplished fact. In the year 1855, Mr. Hodgson Pratt having vacated his office, Colonel Goodwyn was elected President of the Society. It was during his time that the Members were highly entertained by the Reverend Mr. Bellew's readings from Shakespeare, which readings, he (the speaker) believed would form one of the most pleasing links in the reminis-



cences of all who had the privilege to hear them. In the year 1856, Colonel Goodwyn having been constrained by ill-health to tender his resignation, Doctor Bedford was chosen President in his stead. But within a few months of his election that excellent and philanthropic man was removed by death. Mr. Hume was then elected President, but in consequence of his frequent illness and necessary absence from the meetings of the Society, their much-respected Vice-President, Doctor Chevers, who took such an active interest in the proceedings of that evening to honor Doctor Duff, had generally to preside over the Society until Mr. Hume became so unwell that he was obliged suddenly to embark for England. It was on this exigency that application was made to Doctor Duff who, already overburdened with his duties and labours in other spheres, at once and cheerfully came to their side to rescue the Society from its difficulties. From that day, as it had been justly remarked in the address they had already adopted, a new life was imparted to the proceedings of the Society which he reconstructed on an altogether new basis.

After the model of some of the best and oldest associations of the kind in Europe, he divided the Society into six grand Sections for "the prosecution of special enquiries and the cultivation of particular branches of liberal, useful and professional study"—Those Sections were 1, "General Education;" 2, "Literature and Philosophy;" 3, "Science and Art;" 4, "Medical and Sanatory Improvement;" 5, "Sociology;" 6, "Native Female Improvement." It was an idea that could emanate from a master mind; and such a mind was that of Dr. Duff. The results of the working of these sections were patent to any and every member that took the slightest interest in the welfare of the society. Dr. Duff had a most difficult and onerous task imposed on him, and the greater the difficulty, the greater was his ardour and anxiety to overcome it. He seldom returned from the contest baffled or defeated. He worked hard and unceasingly to obtain for the Society a character of practical utility which might place it on an equal footing with the most learned Societies in Europe and America,—and with what success it was not for him (the speaker) to say.

It was through Dr. Duff's interest, exertion and influence that the elite of the Native community were blended in friendly intercourse with the leading members of the civil, military and medical services of the Government; of the missionary body of which he himself was a most distinguished ornament, and other non-official classes. It was through his adamant firmness of purpose that the wealth and intelligence of the land were united in a holy brotherhood for the promotion of a common object. European and Native Gentlemen of the highest grades in society mixed freely in that Hall and took the liveliest interest in their proceedings; men like the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere,

the late lamented Sir James Outram, the Hon'ble Cecil Beadon, the Rajah Radhacant Deb Bahadoor and the Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor with a host of other distinguished names were added to the list of the Society's Honorary and ordinary membership.

The Secretary concluded by saying that, in proportion as they estimated the benefits they had derived, the good they were then enjoying, and the objects they hoped to see accomplished, let their gratitude be to the man who had done so much in the cause. His election as an Honorary Member would, he presumed, have the effect of binding them to him and him to them. He hoped and prayed that the shadow of that truly good and great man might never grow less.

Mr. Woodrow rose and said :—

SIR,

I have been requested to propose the usual vote of thanks to the Chair, and in doing so, I can only say that the presence among us of so influential a member of society as the Rajah Pertaupchunder Singh is a suitable mark of the importance of the occasion, which has called us together this evening.

It was thought at one time that the venerable Rajah Radhacant Deb would have presided, and we all deeply regret that declining years and failing strength have compelled him to abstain from taking a part in the proceedings which his vast learning and his active interest in the progress of education during the last half century would have so well fitted him to conduct. He from his personal knowledge could have told us what great changes have happened since the 12th July 1830, when Dr. Duff with five students opened his institution. He could have told us of the struggles and violent party feeling which marked the educational conflict of 1833 and 1834 before Lord Bentinck in 1835 turned the course of education. He could have told us, that whether in educational questions, as friend or foe, Dr. Duff ever quitted himself as a man and won the admiration of all by his unparalleled energy, his unswerving perseverance and his self-denying labour. But the Rajah Radhacant Deb could, from his personal knowledge, have also told us, that Dr. Duff was not (as one of the previous speakers has stated) the "only Champion of English education in India." He would have told us, that in 1834 another than Dr. Duff actually received from his adversaries this very title of "Champion of English education." He could have told us, that before Dr. Duff was called from his mountain home in Scotland to his work in the plains of Bengal, there was already in India a Civil Servant, who, before Government had opened a single English College (for the Hindu College was then a Non-Government institution) had formed a class in an Oriental College, and as an Honorary Teacher taught the English language to such as wished to learn.

The Rajah Radhacant could have told us, that this Civil Servant stood by Dr. Duff's side in those days of trouble and rebuke ; and besides waging public warfare with error, carried on a far more painful but ultimately successful contest with the hatred then prevalent in high places to the diffusion of Western learning. To him and Dr. Duff is due the agitation which eventuated in the establishment of this Medical College in which we are here assembled.

As the great Institution in Nimtollah owes its origin to Dr. Duff, so to this his fellow-labourer, more than to any other person, Bengal owes her Government English Colleges ; and to him in later years India herself owes her gratitude as the one above all others who strove to win for her the right to enter into the Civil Service, and to share in the government of her soil.

This friend of India, with almost paternal counsel and advice, has encouraged your young countrymen now in England, and his kind welcome and approving smile went to the heart and cheered the arduous course of your distinguished friend Satendranath Tagore, the first Hindu member of the Indian Civil Service.

We have now amongst us this your early and devoted benefactor, Sir Charles Trevelyan. His presence encourages us all, and tells us that we are right in thus assembling to do honor to Alexander Duff, *the true and constant friend of India.*

KOYLAS CHUNDER BOSE,

*Secretary, Bethune Society.*



## Meeting in Honor of Lord Dalhousie.

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THE MEETING IN HONOR OF LORD DALHOUSIE at the Town Hall on Wednesday was most respectably and numerously attended. There were about five hundred Gentlemen present, but though every other class of the Community was largely represented among them, there were not so many as fifty " Officials." We observed the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Hon'ble Mr. Dorin, the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Hon'ble Mr. B. Peacock, the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Buller, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Jackson, Mr. Charles Allen, Mr. D. Elliott, Mr. E. Currie, Mr. P. W. LeGeyt, Mr. G. F. Edmonstone, Mr. Cecil Beadon, Mr. E. T. Trevor, Colonel Goodwyn, Captain H. L. Thuillier, Mr. W. Ritchie, Mr. G. F. Cockburn, Mr. James Hume, Mr. Macleod Wylie, Mr. David Cowie, Mr. C. B. Skinner, Mr. Fred. Robinson, Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore, Baboo Ramapersaud Roy, Rajah Pertaub Chunder Singh, &c., &c.

*The Sheriff* was voted into the Chair on the motion of Mr. Hume. He opened the proceedings with the following address :—

GENTLEMEN,—By the accident of my position as Sheriff of Calcutta for the present year, the honor of presiding at this great Meeting has devolved upon me. It is an honor of which I think that I can best show my sense by simply setting about my duty to the best of my power.

I will now read the Requisition calling upon me to convene this Meeting, which has been very numerously signed by Gentlemen who represent all classes of the Community :—

“ SIR,—We, the undersigned, have the honor to request you will call a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, on some early day, for the purpose of addressing the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, on his approaching resignation of the high Office of Governor General of India, and considering the most fitting way of perpetuating the public sense of His Lordship's brilliant career in this Country.”

It is very clear from the tenor of this Requisition, and from the corresponding sentiments which we all hear expressed wherever we go, that the verdict of this Community is one of high approval of the general policy and conduct of Lord Dalhousie in the most honorable and most onerous position which he has now for more than eight years occupied as Governor General of India. (Hear, hear !) I do not assert that every act of Lord Dalhousie's Government is indiscriminately approved of ; but I do, that as a whole, and with reference to all the circumstances in which he has been placed, it is felt that this administration had been most able, most vigorous, and most beneficial to the Country and to the people. (Hear, hear, hear !) And this I say with the more confidence, because in the Assembly gathered together this day to do honor to the departing Statesman, I see many who, with a large experience of Indian life, some of them holding the highest positions in the Government and in the Services, and some of them having no connection whatever with either the one or the other, (hear, hear, hear !) are men not easily carried away by a more temporary excitement of feeling, or led to follow in the wake of a popular movement without the sanction of their own deliberate judgment. (Hear, hear, hear !)

But whilst we pass this verdict of approval on the administration of Lord Dalhousie, I believe that the feelings with which most of us contemplate his approaching departure from India are of a very conflicting character. The loss we sustain by the departure of a Governor General who has so nobly supported the honor of Britain

in the East, and has carried into effect measures which confer the most substantial benefits on India, morally, physically, and politically, is not a subject of light or passing concern to any who have understanding for the past and forethought for the future. (Hear, hear, hear !) But England has need of her ablest, her bravest, her most trustworthy sons ; and we do not begrudge her the gain which she will acquire by our loss. (Loud cries of "hear, hear, hear!") She has especial need of great practical and administrative ability in the highest departments of the State, of Ministers who cannot only make effective speeches in Parliament, but who can also act as well as they speak. (Hear, hear, hear !) Her Ministers must have courage and resolution to steer the vessel of the State in times of perplexity and suffering : they must look beyond the difficulties, the embarrassments, or even the unpopularity of the moment, to the permanent interests, the honor, and the future security of the Empire : and they must prefer to uphold justice and good faith, in the fear of God, not of man, to the present advantages, the tempting but delusive advantages of an opposite policy. (Hear, hear !) Again, the pride with which British subjects in India, of every race and of every creed, claim an interest in the deeds of their Ruler, is shaded by sympathy with the man on account of impaired health ; whilst their regret for his departure is relieved by the hope that a congenial climate will soon give renewed vigor to the shaken constitution, and restore all its powers to carry out the mandates of the unshaken mind. (Hear, hear !)

These are some of the considerations by which I believe that most of us are affected in attending at this place to-day.

I have purposely avoided going into any details of the great measures which have been devised or executed by Lord Dalhousie during his Indian career, as I do not conceive that to be within my province in merely opening this Meeting.

*His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor* then rose and said:—

When I was requested to move a Resolution at this Meeting, I hesitated for a while in consequence of a doubt which occurred to

me, whether in my official position my coming prominently forward might not be open to some objection. But a little inquiry and reflection convinced me that I need not hold back on that account. There are in Calcutta these principal elements, as it were, of society: the Mercantile or Trading element, the Legal element, the Native element, the Military element, and the Civil or Official element. No man is more convinced than I am, that on such an occasion as this, those elements of society should be prominent and preponderating which are independent of the Government. But I saw no reason why any given class should be excluded altogether, or why all classes should not join together in fit and fair proportions. When, therefore, on inquiry from my friend the Sheriff, I found that out of some eleven or twelve Gentlemen who had agreed to propose or second Resolutions at this Meeting, only two belonged to the Military and Official classes, and that all the rest were independent of the Government, I thought that the proportions were really such as could encounter no reasonable objections. I knew that the Military members of society and the Official members were most desirous to be included among those who sought to do honor to the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration, and I considered that as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had readily and properly consented to represent the Military, so I had a fair right to appear as a Member of the Civil Service, and that the Meeting would consider my appearance neither unwelcome nor inopportune. Having then obtained my own consent, and, as it now appears to me, the consent and approval of the Meeting to my appearance, I will proceed to read to you the Resolution which it is now my duty to propose:—

“ That the eminent public services rendered by the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie during his brilliant career in this Country, and the consummate ability and vigor which have marked his administration, merit the grateful admiration of every subject of the British Crown.”

It is, I am sure, superfluous and unnecessary for me to say how deeply and how painfully I feel my inability to do justice to a sub-

ject like this. It is a subject for a practised and accomplished orator, and one worthy of all his powers. For me, strongly sensible of my own deficiencies in this respect, it is surely the wisest and the safest course, even while bespeaking your indulgence, to refrain from all ambitious oratorical attempts which could but lead to failure to introduce the Resolution to your notice with a few plain and simple words, and to trust to those more gifted speakers who are to follow me to offer that eloquence to the Meeting, and to the subject of the Meeting, which the theme so loudly demands, but which I feel myself wholly incompetent to supply.

For a similar reason, I shall attempt no historical retrospective narrative of the eventful and brilliant career of the great man to honor whom we are now assembled. Such a thing would be altogether beyond my powers: I should only fatigue the Meeting and expose my own incapacity, while I failed altogether to do justice to the extraordinary series of brilliant measures which have made Lord Dalhousie's administration one of the most interesting and important in the History of British India.

Nor indeed can it be necessary, in the presence of such an Assembly as this, to enter upon any such narrative. We have all, or almost all of us, been living witnesses of the events in question. We have seen him at a time of life when the majority of English Statesmen are, so to speak, only commencing their apprenticeship, taking in hand the weighty and complicated affairs of this great Government—a Government which might task the most matured ability of the ripest and most experienced Statesman. We have seen him at that early period of his career, and while as yet everything belonging to this Government, its means, appliances, and resources, must have been new and strange to him, suddenly called upon to cope with an unlooked-for hostile combination of a great military people, and to determine the new destinies of a distant, little known, and difficult Country. That formidable hostile combination, after a series of military operations of unusual magnitude and importance, during which success seemed sometimes about



to desert our standards, and the most sanguine looked almost doubtfully to the result—that combination, I say, was utterly baffled, defeated and dispersed. That distant and difficult Country, full of turbulent spirits, long unused to control, was in an inconceivably short time so reduced to obedience that it may be, and has been, favorably compared and contrasted with the oldest and best governed of our British Indian dominions. All honor to those able and eminent men, Soldiers and Civilians, by whose blood and toil these marvels, for they are little less than marvels, have been accomplished; and long may their names be honorably remembered in connection with that Country which they conquered with so much valour, and have ruled with so much wisdom. But none know better than they know, and none are more ready to testify how much they owe to, the foresight and the directing and guiding statesmanship by which their operations were assisted, their plans shaped and matured, their counsels combined and digested, and their measures supported and carried to completion; and constantly and unanimously do they acknowledge, that whatever the skill and energy which they themselves brought to their tasks, and great indeed were that skill and energy, all might have been of small or no avail had it not been for that wise and watchful genius which, in the midst of various and distracting cares, was ever ready to assist their efforts and ensure success to their labor.

The conquest, and most of all the pacification of the Punjab, as they were the earliest, so have they been the most brilliant and important measures of Lord Dalhousie's administration. But not dissimilar measures have since followed these with rapid and startling succession. The conquest of Pegu was doubtless, as a purely military operation, less arduous than that of the Punjab; but many circumstances combined to render the undertaking difficult and even perilous; and the remembrance of previous disasters on the same ground was assuredly not calculated to inspire Statesmen of the present day, and certainly did not inspire them, with any very sanguine expectations of early and permanent success; yet owing

in large measure to the rare skill, judgment and foresight with which all the complicated previous preparations, and all the subsidiary arrangements were effected under Lord Dalhousie's personal direction, how rapid was the success obtained ! how superior to all anticipation was the subsequent progress of the new acquisition ! how signal the contrast between the Burmese Campaign and its results of 1824, and the Burmese Campaign and its results of 1852 ! And how clearly do we see in the success which has attended the latter event, the extraordinary administrative power and skill which are among the most distinguishing characteristics of Lord Dalhousie's statesmanship, and to the avowed want of which we are accustomed to attribute the disasters of thirty years before.

I can but just allude to the new territories brought under our administration in Hyderabad and Nagpore, yet these are fraught with the highest promise of benefit and advantage, not only to the large and interesting populations thus brought under our sway, but also to our own mother-country, in the facilities afforded for an improved and increased supply of material for its most important national manufacture. And there is a still later measure of the same kind, of which the time has perhaps hardly arrived for any more direct and prominent mention, but by which a fertile and populous region, the cradle of our gallant Native Army, is even now being delivered from the bondage of a galling and cruel oppression, and a foul, fatal, and debasing tyranny arrested and destroyed.

Of the triumphs of domestic administration which have adorned the period of Lord Dalhousie's Government I can only speak in the most cursory manner. Yet how large has been his personal share in all of them, and what have they not effected, what will they not effect for this Country ? The Railway, the Electric Telegraph, the new and improved organization of large and important departments, these are but the more salient points of a domestic administration of which it is not too much to say, and History surely will say, that its almost every step has been either an improvement or a preparation for an

improvement. And in all these measures of foreign and domestic policy, in all this combination and complication of different and important business, what an example has he not set to all under his Government of every sterling quality that can adorn the Statesman and fit a man for high public affairs. What singular laboriousness ! what earnest unswerving devotion to his public duties ! what stern and unbending, yet calm and unobtrusive self-denial ! what superiority, not only over the harassing pains which afflict the body, but over those deeper griefs and sorrows which, in any other man, might have borne down his soul, and then what pure disinterestedness ! After all that local and temporary cavil and petty jealousy and disappointment have ever been able to object—after all this, who that has had to deal with Lord Dalhousie in business, who that has candidly and fairly observed the course of his administration, but must deeply feel and know that anything resembling jobbing is absolutely foreign and hateful to his nature ? Who but must admit and avow that ever and at all times, through good report and evil report, through solicitation and inclination, through friendships and enmities, it has been the one constant aim and purpose of his heart to pursue steadily the public good, and to seek the welfare of the Country to the abandonment of all other considerations ? And wisely, as well as nobly, has he ever acted thus, for how but by choosing constantly the best instruments could he have secured success to his measures, and have deserved, as surely he has deserved, that we should meet together in this Hall to-day to do honor to the close of his administration ? It is thus, and only thus, that it is given to mortals, if not to command, at all events, to deserve success, and it is thus that Lord Dalhousie has deserved it, and has won it.

To say that such a man has enemies, what is it, but to say that he is a man of firm will, strong character and opinions, and stern resolute determination, placed in a situation of eminence and command above his fellow-mortals. And when and where, in this world of ours, has such a man so placed ever been without enemies ?

Nor can it be expected, that amidst so vast a crowd of important measures as he has been engaged in, foreign and domestic, there should not be, even among his friends, room for varieties and differences of opinion.

But no difference of opinion, even on the most important subjects, has ever produced any diminution or abatement of that high respect and admiration which is on all hands accorded to his character and abilities ; and all, whether friends or enemies, are constrained to acknowledge that whatever may be their sentiments regarding him personally, or whatever their opinions regarding this or that of his measures, he has so conducted the course of his administration, and so borne himself in his high Office, as to do honor to the political party with which he is connected. Honor to the ancient stock and the old nobility from which he is sprung, honor to the Country which, with a happy presage of his success, sent him forth confidently at a time of difficulty and danger to sway the counsels of her greatest and most important Dependency.

Therefore it is, Gentlemen, that I stand here appealing to you this day to testify to India, and to testify to England, that you who have most closely observed his career, do also most highly estimate and appreciate the eminent public services of the Marquis of Dalhousie, that those among us who are Englishmen are proud of our countryman, and of the consummate vigor and ability which have marked his brilliant career in this Country ; and those among us who are Natives of the soil are ready gratefully to acknowledge the deep personal interest he has ever displayed in the welfare of their Country, his earnest devotion to her service, and the large, liberal, and enlightened spirit in which, for eight long toilsome years, he has successfully presided over her counsels.

I beg to move that the Resolution already read be adopted by the Meeting.

The Lieutenant-Governor was frequently and very warmly applauded.

*Mr. C. B. Skinner* seconded the Resolution.

*The Rev. Mr. Herdman* then addressed the Meeting. He said:—

I rise by your invitation, Mr. Chairman, to say a few words at this stage of the proceedings, not because the Resolution needs a single syllable to support it in addition to what has been already so ably urged, but to show how *every* class of the Community heartily joins in recognising the singular merits of that noble personage whom it is our duty as well as our delight this day to honor.

“Render honor to whom honor is due.” Honor is due to Rulers in virtue of their Office. We are bound, in all cases, to respect the Governor General of this Empire. But, where the Office is adorned by a spotless personal character, by lofty intellectual endowments, by unswerving integrity, and by unwearied patriotism—there our warmest admiration and our fervent gratitude are due. (Hear, hear !) In the Marquis of Dalhousie, the most illustrious talents, and the purest motives and self-consuming labors, have ennobled the highest rank. (Cries of “hear, hear !”)

Which of us, Gentlemen, what portion of society has not benefited by his enlightened and vigorous reign ? There may be, doubtless are, exceptional cases. In a situation so arduous, and in the management of affairs so various and complicated, there may have been mistakes. But we are here not to worship a perfect but to applaud an eminent man. (Hear, hear, hear !) He has made no effort to gain popularity : that were to have secured contempt. From first to last, I believe, his acts prove that he has sought simply to do his duty, to do it in the best way and to the very utmost of his power, to maintain in the East the unsullied fame and unconquerable power of Britain, and to promote the well-being of this her mightiest Dependency. (Hear, hear, hear !) His

measures have been in all respects admirable : so wise in principle, so thoroughly weighed in their bearings, so complete in details, so eloquently enunciated, so energetically carried into effect, and by instruments always selected with remarkable discrimination—they have covered him with glory as a Statesman and Administrator of the highest order. (Hear, hear, hear !) While firmly upholding the dignity of Government, and dealing out at the same time, to every department of the Public Service, a liberal and impartial treatment, he has still directed his indefatigable attention, not to the aggrandizement of this or that section, or the special advancement of individuals, but to the interests of all throughout this great Country, to the general and lasting benefit of the people of India. (Hear, hear !) Some of the memorable things which he has been enabled to accomplish have been alluded to, and I am well assured that a knowledge of the difficulties in spite of which they have been accomplished, and of his zeal to effect more, would enhance the admiration with which the name of DALHOUSIE shall be cherished for ages to come. (Hear, hear !) The Supreme Ruler of the Earth has indeed largely rewarded His Lordship by the amount of success granted to his exertions ; yet it remains for us, thankfully and unmistakeably, to declare our appreciation of his distinguished worth.

I cordially support the Motion. (Cheers !)

The Motion was then put from the Chair, and carried by acclamation.

*Mr. David Cowie* said :—

I have been invited to propose the second Resolution of this day's proceedings, and I feel pride and pleasure in doing so. The Resolution is as follows :—

“ That the following Address be presented to the Marquis of Dalhousie before his departure from India.”

I shall occupy your time merely by reading the Address to which this Resolution refers, satisfied that it will find a response in every bosom here :—

“ TO THE MOST NOBLE JAMES ANDREW, MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, K. T.,  
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, &c. &c. &c.

“ MY LORD,—The Inhabitants of Calcutta desire to take this opportunity of publicly addressing your Lordship upon the approaching close of an administration which has been of unusual duration, has been marked by extraordinary vigor, and has been crowned with corresponding success.

“ If to have enlarged the borders of the Empire, and to have brought new Provinces within British rule, were the highest praise of a Governor General, your Lordship might on that ground alone challenge comparison with the most illustrious of your predecessors.

“ But it is not by the test of territorial aggrandizement that we desire your Lordship’s Government to be judged, it is in the consolidation of your new acquisitions, in the provision made for their government, and for the development of their resources—above all, in the policy which found the Punjab the prey of a lawless Solidery, and leaves it a peaceful, well ordered and flourishing Province, that we recognise the master-hand of the Statesman, and applaud the wisdom of his measures.

“ Nor have your Lordship’s energy and ability been less conspicuous in the general economy of the rest of the Empire. The constitution of several Departments has been materially improved. In the Commissariat, which is so essential to the efficiency of our Armies, in the Department of Public Works, which affords the best promise of improvement to the Country, the hand of reform has been most sensibly felt.

“ Nor has your Lordship allowed the impulse given by your predecessors to public Education to slacken. New Colleges have been founded, Schools have been multiplied, a new Department for their supervision has been organized, an improved system of Vernacular Education has been devised, and much has been done to give a more practical character to the instruction afforded.

“ Nor can the period of your Lordship’s rule fail to be memorable in the annals of India for the improvement of those means of communication between distant places, which are not the least powerful agents of civilization.

“ The Post Office has been reformed ; the wires of the Electric Telegraph, unknown in India at the date of your arrival, now traverse the length and breadth of the land ; steamers on the Indus and the Irrawaddy afford new facilities to Commerce ; old roads have been improved and extended ; new roads have been opened ; in each Presidency the Locomotive Engine has become a familiar thing ; and if but a very small portion of that system of Railways to which India may confidently look as one of the future sources of her safety and prosperity has yet been constructed, the principles upon which that system ought to be developed have been defined by your Lordship in a manner so masterly as to afford a sure guide for future operations.

“ Some of the great undertakings to which we have referred are of course more directly traceable to your Lordship than others. But without detracting from the merit of the Gentlemen whose names are more immediately associated with some of them, we may say that all have felt your influence, and benefitted by your co-operation. To you, least, belongs the merit of having sought, by a wise and pure dispensation of patronage, to secure the best instruments for the work in hand, and of having afforded to those whom you selected free scope for the exercise of their talents.

“ Of the relations of the Empire with Foreign States we need say little. We believe that, in the management of them, and in particular of the negotiations with some of the Powers of Central Asia, we might find new proofs of your Lordship’s vigilance and ability.

“ My Lord, slight and imperfect as this notice of your career in India may be, it suffices to prove that we should be guilty of ingratitude if we did not express in the fullest terms our admiration of the manner in which you have exercised the functions of your high Office, and our regret that you are about to resign it. We venture to advert to one painful circumstance which, whilst it enhances our regret, must



also enhance our admiration. It is that, under the pressure of your multifarious duties, you have too often had to struggle with attacks of illness, to which other men might have given way, yet you have never shrunk from labors which might have exhausted the most robust, but have toiled on with unbroken spirit, showing that you were willing to risk all in the service of your Country.

“ My Lord, it is not for us to anticipate the future. We cannot tell whether we are addressing one for whom a higher political career is in reserve, or one who is about to enter on the repose the right to which he has so honorably earned. But we are sure, that whatever is before you, your Lordship can never look back upon the years which you have spent in India without the proud and honest satisfaction which accompanies the sense of duties well performed, and that you can never cease to take deep interest in the Country in which your memory will long be cherished by the millions who have benefitted by your rule, and with which History will imperishably connect your name.”

The Address was received with cheers by the Meeting.

*Rajah Pertaub Chunder Singh* seconded the Motion for its adoption.

*General the Hon'ble George Anson* then rose and said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I consider myself most fortunate in being present on the occasion of a Meeting convened for a purpose so entirely in accordance with my own feelings. (Hear, hear!) I consider myself also highly honored at having been requested by the Committee, representing the Community of this great capital of India, to take a part in the proceedings of this day, by proposing to you the Resolution which is now before me. I must, at the same time, express my fears and my belief, that I am occupying a position which ought to have been filled by some one of longer standing, and whose actual residence might be considered to entitle his opinion to greater weight than that of a person who has not had the same experience in India. I certainly

have not been an eye-witness of the past events which, during a rule of eight years, signalized the administration of the Noble Lord; but I would not have accepted the duty which I have undertaken, if I did not feel that I was sufficiently conversant with the present History of India, and with its past and present condition, to enable me to judge whether the functions of its Government, during that period, have been properly fulfilled, and whether the Supreme Head of that Government was entitled to the unqualified thanks and gratitude which we are now prepared to offer to him. I am, however, relieved from the responsibility of entering into any detail of the occurrences of the last eight years by the able manner in which they have been alluded to by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. No man could have been more appropriately selected, or could have more ably performed this task (hear, hear!) and we must feel under deep obligation to him for having taken so prominent a lead on an occasion interesting to every resident in India. (Hear, hear, hear!) I shall, therefore, not weary you with a repetition, though the subject itself ought never to tire those who acknowledge the importance of good Government to this vast Empire. I do feel myself, however, competent to pass an unqualified and unbiassed judgment upon the result of the Government of the Noble Lord. (Hear, hear!) It is true I may have some partiality, some slight bias arising from former recollections. I cannot forget that when the Noble Lord filled an important Office at home, he was considered one of the most rising men of that eventful period. (Hear, hear, hear!) The promise of his youth, striking as it was, has not resulted in disappointment. (Hear, hear!) Whatever hopes might have been entertained by his friends of his success in public life, have been fully realized—whatever regret they might have felt at his removal from a scene of action where his abilities must have ensured such honorable results to himself, have been amply, and more than amply, compensated by the brilliant administration of the Government of an Empire over which the influence of a superior mind and strong will have been so eminently successful, and must produce even more important effects upon its future destinies.

(Hear, hear, hear !) When he was appointed to the high Office of Governor General of India, the contemplation of what India was might have been sufficient to daunt the spirit of the most enterprising and ambitious Statesman : the magnitude and complexity of its requirements might have well deterred the most resolute mind from grappling with them ; but the Noble Lord never shrank from or evaded the difficulties which beset him—he never deviated from the even tenor of his way, during the long and trying period of the exercise of his power over these vast Dominions.

It may not be too much to say, that the fate of India depended upon the selection of a Governor General in 1848. What changes have taken place since that time ! What a revolution in the ideas of people as to the principles upon which this Country should be governed ! By whom has the mode of working out those changes been projected ?—by what master-hand have they been directed ? By whose capacious intellect have the important improvements—demanded, I allow, by the increasing intelligence of the age, but hitherto too often neglected—been prudently, energetically, and successfully carried out ? It is needless to repeat the name. The echo is universal. It resounds from the Indus to the Irrawaddy, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Look to the state of India in 1856, as compared with what it was in 1848. The evidences of a wise and powerful Government are apparent in the consolidation of the Empire, in the general acknowledgment of the benefits of English rule wherever it has been established, and in the admission, tardy though it may be, that the further it is extended the greater will be the amount of blessings conferred upon the Country. There may be some who may still object to what they designate the arbitrary exercise of power in the annexation of territories not belonging to the English Government ; but these objectors will be obliged to admit, perhaps reluctantly, that such measures have been for the happiness of the people of those Provinces which have been subjected to our administration, as well as for the security of their lives and properties.

There may be some who will still cavil at the slow rate of progress in the development of the resources of the Country ; but who will deny that in the establishment of the Electric Telegraph, the projection of Railways, the construction of Roads and Bridges, great advances have been made ; and that we may look with confidence to the completion of those means of communication, which will convert extensive unproductive parts into rich and remunerative districts, and thus become available as the most powerful agents that can be employed in the work of civilization. No doubt the wants of the Country are still enormous ; but the Noble Lord deserves the highest credit, not only for his acknowledgment of them, but for the efforts and determination with which he has met them : as they have become apparent, so have they been complied with : as the demands for supplying them have been urgent, so have they been anxiously considered and promptly satisfied. The application of a system to meet these wants, and to supply their demands, required a sagacity and resolution which are rarely found. Energy and decision will not alone suffice. Sound principles, common sense, and patient judgment are alike required ; and these have marked the course of the Noble Lord during the whole of the time he has administered the complicated business of this vast Empire. (Hear, hear, hear !) In all branches of his Government, we have evidence of the same praiseworthy and just desire to perform his duties. Economy in the details of his Government has been combined with liberality. A determination to eradicate corruption and to correct abuses, the encouragement of education, the recognition of the claims of merit, and a desire to reward it wherever it might appear, a watchful guard over the administration of justice, the simplification of its forms, and the endeavour to render it accessible to all—these are but a few of the objects and results of the Administration of Lord Dalhousie.

It may be said that this praise is general. I mean that it should be so. If it were necessary, I might specify acts innumerable to support it. But I make no exceptions, no selections. I

wish the praise, if praise it can be called, to be unqualified, and the acknowledgment of his past services to be as complete as the grateful hearts of all those who concur in the object of this Meeting must desire that it should be.

It now only remains for me to propose for your approval the Resolution which has been committed to my care:—

“That in order to preserve a lasting memorial of his Lordship’s connection with India, he be requested to allow a marble statue of himself to be taken for the purpose of being erected in the City of Calcutta.”

I have endeavoured, imperfectly I am aware, to perform the duty I have undertaken. But the purpose for which we have met requires no stimulus—no recommendation. Argument or eloquence is as little needed to induce your concurrence, as is our praise necessary to the reputation of the Noble Lord to whom this testimony of our feelings is to be offered. (Hear, hear!) His fame stands upon a surer foundation. It is for our own satisfaction that we have met this day to record, in this insufficient manner, I allow, that we are not unmindful of his services, that we do not forget the sacrifices he has made in devoting his energies to the improvement of this great country, in which not only the interests of so many of our fellow-countrymen are concerned, but with which the sympathies of all, far beyond the consideration of their own interests, are still more deeply engaged, for the promotion of its present prosperity, and for the permanent happiness of the countless millions who inhabit it.

I will only now allude to the last paragraph of the Address, which expresses the regret of the Meeting that the Noble Lord is so soon to resign his high Office. On public grounds, all must agree in this expression. It is but a just tribute to the Noble Lord to declare it. But we must not be too selfish in our feelings. For his own sake we ought to rejoice. His life is too valuable to run the risk of destroying that health without which life would

be little desirable for himself, and would be next to useless for the Public Service. (Hear, hear, hear !) Let us hope that a merciful Providence will amend and restore it, and that he may long be spared to perform those duties in his native land which his Sovereign and Country may require from him, and we may be sure that his career will be as brilliant and effective for good there as it has been in this Eastern Empire. (Cheers !)

*Mr. James Hunt* seconded the Resolution.

*Mr. J. Graves*, Professor of the Hooghly College, then addressed the Meeting, as follows :—

After the very able and eloquent manner in which the proposition now before the Meeting has been moved and seconded, I might well feel diffident, that even an amendment or an addition to that proposition, emanating from an individual so obscure and unknown as myself, would receive even a patient hearing.

This is the first time, Sir, that I have ever ventured to address a Public Meeting, and I should not now presume to do so did I not feel convinced that this is an occasion on which every individual, however humble his position, if he has but a feasible proposition to offer, is freely invited to come forward and to state what that proposition is, and that it will not only receive an attentive hearing, but all the consideration to which it may be deemed entitled. I may however, Sir, be permitted to urge one slight claim to the indulgence of the Meeting, and that is, that I have been for an uninterrupted period of a quarter of a century an humble labourer in the work of Indian Education—a work, Sir, which may be considered as forming the basis of those great objects which it has been Lord Dalhousie's aim to carry out to their fullest development, *viz.*, civilization, enlightenment and good government. I have therefore enjoyed opportunities which perhaps have fallen to the lot of few here present, of not only witnessing, but of personally realizing, the benefits resulting from the measures of the successive administra-

tions of Lord William Bentinck, of Sir Charles Metcalf, of Lord Auckland, of Lord Ellenborough, of Lord Hardinge, and last, yet greatest of all, of our present Most Noble and illustrious Ruler. When I entered upon the field of Education in India, there was but one public Institution in which a knowledge of the English Language and Literature was imparted to the natives of Bengal and of the Upper Provinces, and the number of those then learning English, through the whole of that vast area, might have been estimated at 500. They may now be counted by thousands, and it may be hoped, Sir, that the time is not far distant when they will be counted by hundreds of thousands. At the same period, ten months would have been considered a reasonable time within which to expect a reply to an English letter ; but to come at once to the present administration, I have known, since its commencement, what it has been to be eighteen hours' travelling with my family from Calcutta to Chinsurah, and through the accidental loss of the tide, or being caught in a fog, to be detained all night midway on the river, without light, food or a glass of water. If we are no longer subject to such personal annoyances as these, to what under Providence are we indebted, but to these grand measures, which have not only been projected, but carried into execution, through the energy of a mind at once great, vast and comprehensive.

We are now assembled, Sir, on an occasion the importance of which has been unparalleled in the annals of this Metropolis. We have to consider what may be the most suitable exponent of national admiration and of national gratitude—*admiration* to the abilities which have originated schemes of national advancement as unprecedented in their number as their magnitude, and *gratitude* for the benefits of which these schemes have been instrumental, not only on the community collectively, but on every individual member of it—benefits which have been brought home to the very hearts of many among us. To allude only to cheap postage, how many long forgotten friendships has it not been the means of reviving, how much long suspended intercourse has it not renewed be-

tween old friends, perhaps a thousand miles apart, with whom the old rates of postage were prohibitory of correspondence ; and in the arrival or departure of those dearest ones, how many has the Telegraph relieved from hours, or even days, of uneasiness, or at least of painful suspense. It cannot be considered, Sir, that either a statue or any testimonial that can be devised can be a means of perpetuating Lord Dalhousie's memory, for never has there been a Statesman of whom it could with so much truth be said *Eregi monumentum ere perennius !* To what page of Indian History will the student of a century or two centuries hence be so beneficially directed, as to that of the administration of Lord Dalhousie, combining as it will the termination of its darker era with the practical commencement of its era of civilization and progress. His Lordship will have left behind him a memorial compared with which even the Railway, Telegraph and cheap Postage, vast though they be, will appear comparatively insignificant. That memorial will exist in the hearts of millions yet unborn of the descendants of those whom His Lordship's administration will have rescued from the griping grasp of tyranny, slavery and oppression, and on whom he will have bestowed the inestimable blessings of beneficent laws, equitable government, and civil and constitutional freedom. All here know what His Lordship replied to the Ambassadors from Ava, when they modestly asked for the restoration of the annexed territories : " So long," said His Lordship, " as the Sun continues to shine upon those territories, so long shall the British flag wave over them." I would now say, Sir, so long as the Sun continues to shine on the Indian Empire, so long shall the name of Dalhousie be remembered, or if I may be permitted to use the words of an ancient Poet, changing a single letter :—

" Polus dum sidera pascet :

Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt."

But though, Sir, the perpetuation of Lord Dalhousie's memory cannot depend upon anything that we can decide upon, may it not be in our power to devise a testimonial of such a nature as may



perpetuate and re-produce through coming ages the benefit which we have ourselves derived from his administration ?

I must confess that if the question must necessarily rest between a Statue by itself, or a testimonial of some other kind, I would give the preference to a testimonial equally durable as a statue, equally if not more ornamental, but far more utilitarian in its nature, and on which would be sculptured rather the impress of Lord Dalhousie's practical mind than of the mere external features ; but I purpose, Sir, basing my proposition on the assumption that there will be public spirit enough, and means enough, to render practicable the combination of the purely artistic testimonial with the more purely utilitarian, and of rendering each subsidiary to the purposes of the other ; but should the combination of the two propositions be deemed impracticable, it will then rest with the Meeting to decide whether it will adopt that already before it, or the one which I shall reserve to myself the liberty of moving.

The proposition I now beg to move, Sir, is the following :—That a building be erected in Calcutta, to be designated the Dalhousie Athenaeum, to be identical in its objects, and similar in its construction to the Birmingham Institute lately founded by H. R. H. Prince Albert, and that the amount of the subscriptions in excess of the estimated cost of the building be appropriated to the execution of a Statue to be placed in the Entrance Hall of the structure.

At the suggestion of *Mr. Peterson*, however, who said he had a subsidiary Resolution to bring forward, having very much a similar object in contemplation without interfering with the project for the Statue *Mr. Graves* withdrew his amendment.

*General Anson's* Motion was then put from the Chair, and carried by acclamation.

*Mr. Hume* then rose and said :—

MR. SHERIFF AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been requested to propose the fourth Resolution ; and though it is one of form rather than substance, I shall not deny myself the opportunity of speaking briefly to the subject which has brought us together. Before all great public Meetings, there must be preliminary arrangements. With the arrangements connected with this Meeting I had nothing to do ; and when I heard what they were, I disapproved them, and said so. I thought it might create an erroneous impression here, and be mischievously used elsewhere, that on such an occasion as this high Officials should be found taking a leading part. I am desirous of stating, much more publicly, how much that opinion has been modified by what I have now heard ; and I am glad to say it, because I think it likely that the same impression may have prevailed very generally. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has laid down broadly and intelligibly the grounds upon which he is here. He learned that the different classes of the Community were to be represented, and he saw no reason why, being applied to, he, as a Civilian, should decline the application. The Commander-in-Chief, too, has taken part in these proceedings, as representing the Military body, and claiming to be acquainted with the history of Lord Dalhousie's administration ; and it seems to me, that when men assert a privilege accorded to all others in the Community—and to this it really amounts—individual opinion as to expediency must give way, and all must admit they advance an argument which cannot be upset. We are here to sit in general judgment upon an administration, and I know not how any man is to be denied the privilege of expressing his opinion because of his high Office. (Hear, hear !)

The Requisition to the Sheriff speaks of Lord Dalhousie's brilliant career in this Country, and the Address adopts the expression. If it be not legitimately used, then I say the word may be struck out of the Civil vocabulary, and retained only for application to Military triumphs. (Hear, hear, hear !) Allusion has been made to the

annexations of the Punjab and of Pegu, and to that which is now in progress, adding another kingdom to the British rule. I can apply the term brilliant to no annexation ; it can only be properly applied to the subsequent legislation, when it redounds to the honor of the ruling power by the blessing it confers on the people. (Hear, hear, hear !) On an occasion like this, it would be idle to suppose that all could be thoroughly unanimous on any one great act of the Government, much more so that every act should meet with universal approval. Men may differ in opinion as to the justice of the last annexation of the Punjab, and to the policy of the annexation of a portion of the Burmese Empire ; but a discussion on these points is not called for. What we are here for is, to declare whether, on a general review of an administration extending over eight years, the Chief of that administration is entitled to the gratitude of the people over whom he has ruled. It is by no means essential, even, that it should be shown that the great reforms of his time have originated with him. Where we are always agitating and suggesting, and petitioning, and where there is so much room for improvement, great measures will at any time be in our thoughts, and if we light on a man who has the capacity to embrace them all, and the vigor to carry them out, to convert our wishes into accomplished facts, what less than our gratitude is due to him ! (Hear, hear, hear !) The Ganges Canal, one of the greatest works of modern times, was originated long ago ; the exigencies of War suspended it during two administrations ; Lord Dalhousie has had wars on his hands, and he has carried it out to completion. (Hear, hear !) Railways were talked of before his time, but who doubts that, slow as our progress has been, almost all that has been accomplished we owe to his admirable papers on the subject, and an unconquerable determination to see this great means of improvement on a sure foundation before he left the country. (Hear, hear !) As long ago as Lord Auckland's time, the distinguished Officer who has done more for electric communication in India than has ever been accomplished in a like period in any part of the world, demonstrated its feasibility with a wire of some five miles in length,

but shall we be the less grateful to the man under whose rule, and by whose determined will, this wonderful means of communication has been so rapidly carried out ! I might extend these remarks in relation to the Post Office and other great improvements, but it is unnecessary. A variety of measures, all conferring immense benefit on the country, and full of promise for the future, have not only been talked of, but matured and realized. Independent of all personal considerations, they make the time of Lord Dalhousie's rule remarkable : had they remained still to be prayed for, great would have been the discredit to him : being accomplished, is it possible that impartial and honest men can withhold the expression of their gratitude or the tribute of their admiration ? (Hear, hear, hear !)

Before I sit down, I must notice one circumstance—coincidence I may almost say—which has forcibly struck me. We have known a man only not Governor General of India because he became Prime Minister of England ; and while that man's son is on his way hither to take up the appointment his father was to have filled, it may be that its present illustrious incumbent is only leaving us to occupy, ere long, if it please Providence to spare his most valuable life, the first Office under the British Crown—the Office in which, to the universal regret of the British people, the great George Canning died ! This is no idea of mine alone. When the disastrous mismanagement of the great war in which we are engaged roused the indignation of the British people—I believe almost less from the miserable sufferings it entailed than from the sense it awoke of tarnished glory and national humiliation—when the Cabinet was broken up, and there was no one to reform it—when some of our leading men gave melancholy evidence of how much stronger among those who play for power are the ties of party than the obligations of Patriotism—when a Minister of War, equal to the emergency, was the great want bewailed from one end of the Empire to the other—the name of Lord Dalhousie was in the mouths of thousands as the man who, by the energy, decision, self-reliance, and general administrative capacity, exhibited throughout his career in India,

would have commanded the perfect confidence of the Country. (Cheers !) Had he been on the spot, he must have filled that post ; and I need hardly say, that if this war is to continue, the man who conducts it consistently with the national honor, and therefore to the satisfaction of the Country, will be little or nothing less than its Prime Minister. (Cheers !)

But war, or no war, the public life of our departing Governor-General, the reputation he brought out, and the immensely augmented reputation he takes home, mark him as one who can be second to none so long as he may be in the arena of political life. I earnestly pray it may please the Almighty to restore him to health and strength equal to the part he is otherwise qualified to play in the great theatre of the world. And should it be so, and that part be played out to the full duration of man's life, most confident I am that no sense of public services hereafter to be rendered, and no amount of honors that may be gained by them, will ever obliterate, or weaken, the proud consciousness in His Lordship's mind of some of the best years of his life having been devoted to this Country, and of his administration having secured to him the public recognition of his services which this Meeting is intended to record and to perpetuate. (Hear, hear, hear !)

I conclude by reading the Resolution that has been placed in my hands :—

“ That a deputation consisting of the following Gentlemen be requested to wait on the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie to present the Address, accompanied by any other Gentlemen who may wish to join them on the occasion :—

“ J. H. Fergusson, Esq., *Sheriff*; Lieutenant-Colonel Baker; Sir Robert Barlow; Cecil Beadon, Esq.; Colonel Bircu; Sir Arthur Buller; P. A. Cavorke, Esq.; Jas. Church, Esq.; Longueville Clarke, Esq.; The Revd. G. G. Cuthbert; The Revd. Dr. Duff; Daniel Elliott, Esq.; The Revd. H. S. Fisher; Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose; The Revd. J. C. Herdman; Charles Hurlinagle, Esq.; James Huue, Esq.; The Revd.

A. F. Lacroix ; P. W. La Geyt, Esq ; J. P. McKilligin, Esq. ; The Right Revd. Dr. Olille ; R. O'Shaughnessy, Esq. ; F. Pereira, Esq. ; A. T. T. Peterson, Esq. ; Baboo Ramapersaud Roy ; Manickjee Rustomjee, Esq. ; George Remfry, Esq. ; W. Ritchie, Esq. ; Major A. Sanders ; Rajah Pertaub Chunder Sing ; C. B. Skinner, Esq. ; G. G. Spilsbury, Esq. ; W. Spink, Esq. ; R. Macdonald Stephenson, Esq. ; M. D. Valbezen ; T. D. K. Watts, Esq. ; John White, Esq. ; and M. Wylie, Esq."

*Baboo Manickjee Rustomjee* seconded the Resolution, which was then put from the Chair, and carried by acclamation.

*The Sheriff* then proposed that the names of the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution be added to the list of the Committee.

The motion was carried unanimously.

*Mr. Peterson* then rose to propose the fifth Resolution.—

He stated that although the Resolution itself was in part formal, yet as a portion of it was substantial, he should not however propose it without some remark. The Sheriff, in his able opening Address to the Meeting, had stated that this was a Meeting of all classes, and among them are those who were not likely to be led away by the enthusiasm of the moment—men who had no gratitude to show either for past or hopes of future favours : he would claim to belong to that class. This was not a Meeting to discuss the merits or demerits of any particular measure of the Noble Lord's administration. The question before the Meeting was, had the Noble Lord deserved well of his Country during the eight years of his Viceroyalty ; had the trust committed to his charge been executed in such a manner as to entitle him to a record of esteem from his fellow-countrymen ; his worst enemy could not say that he had not labored incessantly for his Country ; never had Viceroy served Royalty so faithfully as the Noble Lord, and he would challenge

any one to say that the fame of the British nation had suffered any tarnish at his hands. With regard to the domestic administration of the Noble Lord, he might fairly assume that there had been little or no nepotism ; predilection there was none either for kin or clan ; his kinsmen were those who showed themselves most competent to perform the work allotted to them ; his clansmen were the whole of the services put at his disposal : if any appointments were filled by any one bearing the name of or being akin to a Ramsay, it could not be said that they were not fit for their posts. His Lordship had not been pitch-forked into power simply because he was Lord Dalhousie ; he had had the good luck to be born a younger son, with the prospect of toil before him for his daily bread, and the Governor of this Country had the benefit of his early training. An apology had been made by the Lieutenant-Governor for his appearing and addressing this present Meeting ; he thought an apology was not required : to exclude either Civilians or Soldiers from taking part in a Meeting like this would be class selection with a vengeance. He had yet to learn, that either the Civilian on the one hand, or the Soldier on the other, lost their rights as citizens by taking employment ; his maxim was to go to the market and make his pick out of the largest choice : had Civilians or Soldiers been excluded or allowed to take no part in the present Meeting, we should have lost two excellent speeches, one from the Lieutenant-Governor and another from the gallant Soldier on his left. At all events it could not be said on the present occasion that this was a Meeting got up with its Resolutions ready cut and dry by a clique or party. A preliminary Meeting of all classes had been called, and the Resolutions placed before this Meeting, with their movers and seconders, agreed to at such preliminary Meeting. To come to the Resolution he had to propose, the first part of it embodied the appointment of Gentlemen as a Committee of Finance, to gather in subscriptions for carrying out the previous Resolution ; the latter part was a proposal as to the application of the surplus after the Statue had been paid for. That surplus which he confidently expected would be large was to be appropriated to the foundation of

a Scholarship or Scholarships in the Engineering College about to be erected in Calcutta. This part of the Resolution, if carried out, would create a re-producing monument, and when regard is had to the fact, that under the auspices of His Lordship Railways have been commenced throughout this Country; that in making these Railways, in the place of leaving their construction to Government Engineers and Government Officers, the Noble Lord had adopted the sounder plan of leaving their construction to public competition, so as to induce the introduction of a constructive class from the mother-country, and an influx of the Saxon element, he (the speaker) did not think that a more appropriate mode of expending the surplus which they might confidently expect could be had than by the endowment of an Institution strictly called universal to all, whatever be the creed, caste, color or nation, and through the instrumentality of which a constructive class may be raised, by whose skill and industry the whole of this Country, North, South, East and West, would some day or another be encompassed in the iron embrace of Railways. He most cordially joined in the wish expressed by Mr. Hunt in seconding one of the Resolutions, that what is to be done ought to be done quickly; and he hoped that the Finance Committee would show themselves as smart in whipping in the funds, as Mr. Hunt has been in making Railways, and that this Meeting would not have to wait for their children's children before they would see the result of this Meeting in a tangible form. Before he would sit down, he would state that there was one point to which he must allude, and that is, that when His Lordship goes home with renewed health, and takes that position in the Councils of the British nation to which his administrative talents, entitle him, that the Noble Lord will recollect that there is a large and trusting class of his countrymen residing in India through whose energy the resources of this Country have been developed, and its commerce quadrupled, who though contributing largely to its prosperity have no voice in its Government, and have no means by which their practical knowledge can be brought to bear on the affairs of this



portion of the British Empire. He (the speaker) would express a hope, that when the Petition of his countrymen to the British Legislature, to have the same rights which are enjoyed by their countrymen in every other Dependency of the British Crown accorded to them, should be brought before the British Nation, His Lordship's voice will be raised in their favor, and that through the aid of His Lordship their object will be obtained. (Cheers !)

*Mr. W. Spink* seconded the Resolution, which was then put from the Chair, and carried unanimously.

*Mr. LeGeyt* said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—It would be an omission which I should be sorry to see occur, if specific measures are not adopted by this Meeting to provide an opportunity for the European and Native Inhabitants of the Sister Presidencies joining their fellow-citizens at Calcutta in doing honor to Lord Dalhousie on his approaching departure from the Country he has so ably ruled for eight years. I observe, from the last Resolution, that the Committee is empowered to collect subscriptions from all parts of India ; and, therefore, no one can say that the Testimonial intended is only of a local nature, and I trust it will be understood as an universal expression of admiration and respect for Lord Dalhousie's character and talent throughout the land. (Hear !) I can bear witness how high this estimation is in the West. His name among the Native Community there is associated with the names of those distinguished men who, by great deeds and high character, have won for themselves an honorable niche in the Valhala of Western India. (Hear, hear ' ) I do not think that even the Marquis of Dalhousie will consider it an ill compliment, that in that distant part of the land over which he has ruled the sturdy Mah-ratta, the independent, restless Rajpoot, the intelligent, grateful Parsee, and the descendants of the Arab settlers in the Coast, his name was associated with those of Wesley Saheb—by which appel-

lation the Duke of Wellington is universally remembered there—of Mountstuart Elphinstone, of Malcolm, and of Monroe. It is a well-known fact that, generally, the minds of the Natives of India are singularly apathetic as to the individuality of their Rulers, separated as they are from them by distance and circumstances. But I am disposed to believe, that the case of Lord Dalhousie is an exception to this rule. I well remember, six years ago, when his Lordship visited Bombay, the intense interest which his arrival excited amongst all classes of the Community. He was looked upon there as the consummate and energetic Statesman who had first reduced to British rule and civil order the powerful and turbulent dominions of Runjeet Singh. Since that period he has been regarded as the presiding genius that introduced among them the Railway and the Electric Telegraph—those gigantic improvements in civilization which have filled every Asiatic's mind who has seen them working with admiration and awe. I feel assured that the demonstration which has been made here to-day will be gladly and extensively seconded in the Presidency of Bombay. (Hear, hear!) And after what took place at Madras on the occasion of His Lordship's recent visit, I have no doubt that it will be equally well received there. (Hear, hear!) I have very great pleasure, therefore, in moving the following Resolution, which has been placed in my hands:—

“That, in order to give the Inhabitants of Bombay and Madras the opportunity of joining in the Testimonial to Lord Dalhousie, the Committee be requested to communicate with such parties at those Presidencies as they may deem advisable.”

*Mr. Elliott* said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel assured that the Inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras will cordially re-echo the sentiments respecting the administration of Lord Dalhousie which have been so well expressed in the Address and by the able and

eloquent speakers who have preceded me, and will gladly avail themselves of an opportunity of contributing to the Testimonial which it is designed to erect in honor of His Lordship in the Capital of India. I have great pleasure, therefore, in seconding the Resolution proposed by Mr. LeGeyt.

The Resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman on the Motion of Mr. Hume, and the Meeting separated.

*from the writer.*

*From the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal,  
Vol. XLIV, Part I, 1875.*

*Krishna-cultus in the Brhat Samhita.*—By PRANNA'TH PANDIT, M A

Professor Weber\* in a passage approvingly quoted by Dr. Lortinscr† in the appendix to his edition of the Bhagavad Gita, says that *the worship of Krishna as sole god is one of the latest phases of Indian religious systems, of which there is no trace in Varāha-Mihira, who mentions Krishna, but only in passing.* I would, however, draw the attention of the learned Professor to a passage in the fifty-eighth chapter of the Brhat Samhita, which is perhaps the identical one which he had in view when he penned the words italicised above. The passage is this :—

कार्योऽष्टभुजो भगवान् चतुर्भुजो द्विभुज एव वा विष्णुः ।  
श्रीवत्साकृतवर्षाः कौस्तुभमणिभूषितारण्यः ॥ २१ ॥  
अनवीकुलमश्रुतः पीताम्बरनिवसनः प्रसन्नमुखः ।  
कुण्डलकिरीटधारो पीनगलोरः शालाश्रुभुजः ॥ २२ ॥  
खड्गगदाशरपाणिर्दक्षिणतः शान्तिदक्षतुर्यकरः ।  
वामकरेषु च कार्मुकखेटकचक्राणि शङ्खश्च ॥ २३ ॥  
अथ च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिद एको गदाधरयाम्यः ।  
दक्षिणपार्श्वे ह्येवं वामे शङ्खश्च चक्रश्च ॥ २४ ॥

\* Indische Studien II., 298, &c.

† Indian Antiquary, Vol. II., p. 285.

द्विभुजस्य तु शान्तिकरो दक्षिणहस्तोऽपरश्च शङ्खधरः ।  
 एवं विद्योः प्रतिमा कर्तव्या भूतिमिच्छद्भिः ॥ ३५ ॥  
 बलदेवो हलपाणिर्मदविधमलोचनश्च कर्तव्यः ।  
 विभक्तकुण्डलमेकं शङ्खेन्दुमृणालगौरवपुः ॥ ३६ ॥  
 एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवछायायाम् ।  
 कटिर्स्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्धृती ॥ ३७ ॥\*

31. Our Lord *Vishnu* may be represented with eight arms, with four, or with two arms, his breast being marked with the curl *Srivatsa* and adorned with the *Kaustubha* gem.

32. Darkish as the *Atasi* flower, clad in a garment of yellow-silk a serene face, wearing earrings and a topped crown, and having the neck, chest, shoulders, and arms thick.

33. Holding in his right hands, a sword, a club and an arrow, while the fourth hand bestows blessings. In his left hands, a bow, a buckler, a discus and a conch.

34. If it be preferred to make *Vishnu* four-armed, then one hand bestows blessings, and the other holds a club; this much for the right side; in the left hands, the conch and the discus.

35. Of the two-armed image the right hand blesses and the other holds a conch. In this manner is the idol of *Vishnu* to be framed by those who desire prosperity.

36. *Baladeva* must be made having a plough in his hand, with eyes lively from drink, wearing a single earring; his complexion as the conch-shell, the moon, or lotus-fibre.

37. The goddess *Ekānamā*, should be made betwixt *Baladeva* and *Krishna* with the left hand resting on her hip, and with the other, holding a lotus.†

Further on we have a direction about *Sāmba*, *Pradyumna*, and their wives.

शान्तश्च गदाहस्तः प्रद्युम्नश्चापहस्तः सुकपश्च ।  
 अयनयोः स्त्रियौ च कार्यं खेटकनिक्षिप्तभारिण्यौ ॥ ४० ॥

40. *Sāmba* holds a club in his hand; *Pradyumna* is handsome and holds a bow. Their wives too, are to be made holding in their hands buckler and sword.

Now as far as modern researches give insight to the development of the religion of the Hindus, there never was a period when *Samba* and

\* Kern's *Bṛhat Samhita*, Bibl. Indica, 317, 318.

† In translating these passages I have principally followed Kern's version of this portion of the *Bṛhat Samhita* in J. R. A. S., New series, Vol. VI., pp. 326, 327.

*Pradyumna* had any independent status in their Pantheon, their wives being of course out of the question altogether. *Baladeva* too had more the position of a satellite to *Krishna* than that of an independent divinity. It would therefore be, to say the least, paradoxical if all these personages be raised to the rank of popular divinities, when *Krishna* himself is left out in the cold, and only thought worthy of an incidental mention.

The question may be viewed from another point. Our author has been giving detailed directions as to the mode in which various divinities are to be modelled or sculptured. He first tells us that *Vishnu* may be represented with eight, four, or two hands. He then gives us details about these allotropic modifications of that deity. We have then an account of *Balarāma*, and after that we are told that the goddess *Ēkānamṣā* is to be represented in a certain posture between *Krishna* and *Balarāma*. Now nowhere in the chapter, or even in the whole work, are we told as to how *Krishna* is to be represented. I submit that we are bound not to inflict the odium of this omission on *Varāhamihira*, if we can help it.

The solution that I propose of these difficulties is this : I put it that *Varāhamihira* thinks that he has already described *Krishna*, when he has given us the description of the two-handed *Vishnu*. I see nothing which can be urged against this supposition, always leaving out of account the foregone conclusions of some writers that the *Krishna-cultus* must be post-Christian.

But there is still another passage in the *Bṛhat Saṃhita* from which, I contend, the conclusion is legitimate, that *Varāhamihira* recognised the identity of *Krishna* with *Nārāyaṇa*. *Krishna* had said in the *Gīta* :

कालोऽस्मि लोकवधन प्रवृद्धः ।

which may be freely translated thus :

“ I am time the potent destroyer ”.

Pursuant perhaps to this general idea, *Varāhamihira*, in the one hundred and fifth chapter of his work, names the twelve months of the year after *Nārāyaṇa*.

मृगशीर्षाद्याः केशवनारायणमाधवाः मंगोविन्दाः ।

विष्णुमधुसूदनाख्यौ विविक्ता वामनश्च ॥ १४ ॥

श्रीधरनामा तस्मात् सङ्क्षोभकेशय पद्मनाभय ।

दामोदर इत्येते मासाः प्रोक्ताः यथामङ्गलम् ॥ १५ ॥

मासनाम समुपोषितो नरो द्वादशीषु विधिवत् प्रकीर्तयन् ।

केशवं समभिपूज्य तत्पदं याति यच्च न हि ऊर्ध्वार्जं भयम् ॥ १६ ॥ †

14. *Mṛgasiṁsha* and the rest are *Keshava*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Mādhava*, *Govinda*, *Vishnu*, *Madhūsūdana*, *Trivikrama*, and *Vamana*.

15. *Sridhara* and then *Hṛṣīkeśha* and *Padmanābha* and *Dāmōdara*. These are the months told in their respective order.

**16.** A man fasting on the twelfth day of each lunar fortnight, duly reciting the names of the months and worshipping *Keshava*, attains that place where there is no fear arising from birth.

The whole tenor of the passage makes it plain that the twelve names predicated to the months of the year are so many synonyms for *Nārāyaṇa* or *Vishnu*. Now some of the synonyms given here have no meaning unless they be applied to *Krishna*. If we succeed in establishing this proposition, the conclusion is irresistible that *Varāhamihira* identified *Krishna* with *Vishnu*. The synonyms on which I would lay stress are, *Kesava*, *Mādhava*, *Govinda*, and, last but not least, *Dāmodara*.

*Keshava*. The usual grammatical etymology of this word traces its origin to *Kēśa* (hair) and the possessive affix *va*, as may be seen from P'hatagi's commentary\* to Panini, V. 2. 109, and Ujjaladattā's commentary† to Unnadi Sūtras, V. 33. *Kshiraswami* in his commentary‡ on the *Aṃera-Kośha* following these authorities says: प्रशस्ताः केशाः सन्त्यस्य केशवः । केशाद्देश्यत्वरस्याम् । In the *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Book V., Chap. XVI.) however, another etymology is given accounting for the fact of *Krishna*'s getting the appellation of *Kesava*. "For this that thou hast slain the impious *Kes'in*, thou shalt be known in the world by the name of *Kes'ava*."§ If preference is to be given to this etymology, *Kes'ava* would be meaningless unless *Krishna* be intended.

*Mādhava*. *Kshiraswami* gives two derivations. The one is मायाः लक्ष्म्याः धेवा भर्ता माधवः ।; the other is मधोरपत्यं वा । The following passage from the *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Book IV., Chap. XI) throws light on the latter etymology. "The son of *Vriṣa* was *Madhu*; he had a hundred sons, the chief of whom was *Vriṣṇi*, and from him the family obtained the name of *Vriṣṇi*. From the name of their father, *Madhu*, they were also called *Mādhavas*; whilst from the denomination of their common ancestor *Yadu*, the whole were termed *Yādavas*."|| If we are to follow this view of the subject, *Mādhava* can be predicated to *Nārāyaṇa*, only when he is identified with *Krishna*.

*Govinda*. The word *go* in Sanskrit is a veritable *Kāmadhēnu*. *Medinikara* gives a dozen meanings for it. The derivation of *Govinda* given by *Kshiraswami* is as follows: गां भुवं विन्दतीति गोविन्दः । वाराहकूपेणोद्धारान् । Considering, however, the primary signification of *go* (bull or cow), the

\* *Pratya* pp. 506, 508

† *Taranatha's Siddhanta Kaumudi*, Vol. I., p. 683. Second edition.

‡ *Aufrecht's Unnadi Sūtras*.

§ Sanskrit MS. No. 664, in the Society's Library, Leaf 7, p. 1.

|| *Wilson's Vishnu Purana*, London, 1810, 540. The passage is also quoted by *Bharata Mullika* in his commentary on the *Aṃera Kośha*, *Sanskrita MS.*, No. 188, in the Society's Library, p. 19.

etymology propounded in Vishnu Purāna (Book V., Chap. XII) is more satisfactory. "I have now come by desire of cattle, grateful for their preservation, in order to install you as Upendra; and, as the Indra of the cows, thou shalt be called Govinda."\* Even if we were to take the word only in the sense of a cow-herd,† it would be meaningless when applied to Vishnu independently of Krishna.

*Dāmódara.* *Kshirasāmi* derives it thus: दाम उदरे यस्य दामोदरः। बाले हि चापत्यादाम्ना बद्धोऽभूत्। The story is to be found in the Vishnu Purana, Book V, Chap. VI. "It is hence that Krishna is called Dāmódara, from the binding of the rope (dāma) round his belly (udara)."‡ There is another§ etymology which ascribes this name to *Krishna's* taking a large quantity of food. Whichever of these derivations be preferred, the term can apply only to Krishna.

From an attentive consideration of the facts and authorities here adduced, we cannot resist the conviction that in Varāhamihira's time Krishna had been identified with Vishnu. I hope an attentive perusal of the other works of the same author will confirm this opinion.





**SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE KONNUGGUR  
SEMINARY.**

**OFFICE BEARERS.**

*Committee of Management.*

|                                    |                                  |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjee.</b> | <b>Baboo Ramchunder Ghosaul.</b> |
| „ Calla Chand Bose.                | „ Kaleedoss Bose.                |
| „ Shib Chunder Deb.                | „ Ramchunder Paulit.             |
| „ Degumber Mitter.                 | „ Denonauth Mitter.              |
| „ Greeshchunder Mookerjee.         | „ Ubhoy Churn Mitter.            |
| „ Mohender Nath Benerjee.          | „ Isurchunder Mitter.            |
| „ Chundersekhur Mookerjee.         | „ Gunga Sunker Mookerjee.        |
| „ Mohes Chunder Mitter.            | „ Jugut Chunder Mitter.          |
| „ Nubogopal Bose.                  |                                  |

**BABOO GREESH CHUNDER DEB.**

*Secretary.*

**BABOO NOBEEN CHUNDER MITTER.**

*Assistant Secretary.*

# SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, OF THE KONNUGUR SEMINARY.

In laying before the public their report on the progress of the School during the past year 55-1856, the Committee of Management congratulate on the institution being now placed on a more secure basis.

2- From December last, a monthly grant of Rs 30 has been obtained from Government, and an equal sum of monthly contribution, from private individuals ; a donation of Rs. 163 14 has also been received from both these sources during the year.

3. The establishment of the school has been gradually raised from Rs. 43 8 of the preceding year to Rs. 115, as per annexed Statement.

| NAMES.                         | OFFICE           | Allowance<br>per<br>month. |   |   |
|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|---|---|
| Gungadhar Acharjea.            | Head Master. ... | 40                         | 0 | 0 |
| Jodoonath Banerjea.            | 2nd ditto        | 30                         | 0 | 0 |
| Benee Madhub Daw.              | 3rd ditto        | 15                         | 0 | 0 |
| Gopal Chunder Dey.             | 4th ditto        | 10                         | 0 | 0 |
| Modhoooodun Surma              | Pundit           | 15                         | 0 | 0 |
| Jodoonath Doss.                | Malce            | 3                          | 0 | 0 |
| Shumbhoo Chunder Chuckerbuttee | Collecting Sirca | 2                          | 0 | 0 |
| Total                          |                  | 115                        | 0 | 0 |

4. The number of boys on the Roll up to date is 149 against 79 of the previous year, and is divided into 6 classes as follows.

|                    |       |
|--------------------|-------|
| 1st Class. ... ..  | 10    |
| 2nd ditto,... ..   | 11    |
| 3rd ditto, .. ...  | 20    |
| 4th ditto, . . . . | 28    |
| 5th ditto, .. ...  | 28    |
| 6th ditto,.. ...   | 52    |
|                    | <hr/> |
|                    | 149   |

Of these boys, 13 are free\* and 136 pay scholars, of whom 9 boys are paid for by charitable men. The boys belong to the different casts noted below.

|                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| Brahmins ... .. | 73    |
| Kaestus... ..   | 67    |
| Burdy ... ..    | 1     |
| Sannohar ... .. | 1     |
| Tilee ... ..    | 1     |
| Muyra ... ..    | 3     |
| Buool ... ..    | 2     |
| Kuubunto .. ..  | 1     |
|                 | <hr/> |
|                 | 149   |

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\* These are indigent boys admitted into the school under the following rule

Rule 12. Subscribers paying 1 Rupee per month to the Institution shall have the privilege of sending to the school one boy free of charge, provided he be found really indigent, and those paying Rs. 2 and upwards per month shall be entitled to send two such boys.'

5. The strength of the Roll, and the number of admissions and withdrawals, together with the average daily attendance in each month, are shown in the subjoined statement.

| Month.          | No. of boys remaining at the close of the preceding month | Admitted during the month. | Withdrawn during the month. | No. of boys remaining at the close of the month. | Average daily attendance. |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1855.           |                                                           |                            |                             |                                                  |                           |
| May,            | 79                                                        | 3                          | 1                           | 81                                               | 66                        |
| June,           | 81                                                        | 15                         | 4                           | 92                                               | 79                        |
| July,           | 92                                                        | 6                          | 2                           | 96                                               | 85                        |
| August, .       | 96                                                        | 6                          | 1                           | 101                                              | 86                        |
| September,      | 101                                                       | 2                          | 0                           | 103                                              | 86                        |
| October,        | 103                                                       | 0                          | 1                           | 102                                              | 74                        |
| November,       | 102                                                       | 13                         | 3                           | 112                                              | 87                        |
| December, 1836. | 112                                                       | 15                         | 0                           | 127                                              | 103                       |
| January,        | 127                                                       | 16                         | 0                           | 143                                              | 117                       |
| February,       | 143                                                       | 11                         | 4                           | 150                                              | 126                       |
| March,          | 150                                                       | 8                          | 6                           | 152                                              | 133                       |
| April,          | 152                                                       | 1                          | 4                           | 149                                              | 131                       |

6. The following are the subjects taught in the school.

|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
|-----------------------|---|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1st. Class.           | { | Reading    | Chambers's Moral Class book p. 34 57.                                                       |
|                       |   | Poetry.    | Poetical Reader No. I chap. I-III. pieces                                                   |
|                       | { | History.   | 12 Whitaker's Greece p. 65 95.                                                              |
|                       |   | Grammar    | Lennie's. Orthography, Etymology and Syntax with notes and observations as far [as Rule XX. |
|                       | { |            | Clift's Geography; Europe.                                                                  |
|                       |   |            | Stewart's England, Scotland, and Ireland.                                                   |
|                       | { |            | Arithmetic Vulgar Fractions.                                                                |
|                       |   |            | Bengalee Jeebon chuntu p. 1 26                                                              |
|                       | { |            | Translation From Bengalee into English.                                                     |
|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
| 2nd Class.            | { | Reading    | Chambers's Moral Class book p. 1 36.                                                        |
|                       |   | History    | Marshman's Bengal, first 4 chapters.                                                        |
|                       | { | Grammar    | Lennie's. Orthography, Etymology, and [Syntax as far as Rule II large types.                |
|                       |   | Geography  | Clift's Asia, Hindoostan, and Europe.                                                       |
|                       | { | Arithmetic | Vulgar Fractions.                                                                           |
|                       |   | Bengalee   | Nectibodh p. 1 61.                                                                          |
|                       | { |            |                                                                                             |
|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
| 3rd Class.            | { | Reading    | Rudiments of Knowledge p. 1-34.                                                             |
|                       |   | Grammar    | Lennie's Orthography and Etymology.                                                         |
|                       | { | Geography  | Clift's Asia and Hindoostan.                                                                |
|                       |   | Arithmetic | Reduction of compound numbers.                                                              |
|                       | { | Bengalee   | Pashwabulee p. 1 40.                                                                        |
|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
| 4th Class.            | { | Reading    | Chambers's Simple Lessons p. 1-61.                                                          |
|                       |   | Grammar    | Lennie's. Orthography Etymology as far [as the adjective pronouns.                          |
|                       | { | Arithmetic | Compound Addition.                                                                          |
|                       |   | Bengalee.  | Bodhodwy p. 1 61.                                                                           |
|                       | { |            |                                                                                             |
|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
| 5th Class.            | { | Reading    | Chambers's Second book of Reading p. 1-31.                                                  |
|                       |   | Grammar    | Viva voce first five parts of speech.                                                       |
|                       | { | Arithmetic | Simple Multiplication.                                                                      |
|                       |   | Bengalee   | Shishoosikhya part III. entire.                                                             |
|                       | { |            |                                                                                             |
|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
| 6th Class.<br>Sec. A. | { | Reading    | Peary Churn's First book of Reading [p. 1-26.                                               |
|                       |   | Arithmetic | Numeration, Notation, and Simple Addition.                                                  |
|                       | { | Bengalee   | Shishooshikhya part III p. 1-26.                                                            |
|                       |   |            |                                                                                             |
| 6th Class.<br>Sec. B. | { | Reading    | Peary Churn's First book of Reading [P. 1-16.                                               |
|                       |   | Bengalee   | Shishooshikhya part III p. 1-8.                                                             |

**Baboo Prosunno Coomar Surbadhicary.** 7. An examination of the students was held in April by the gentlemen named in the margin, whose recorded opinions on the manner in which the boys have acquitted themselves are quoted below.

„ Greesh Chunder Deb,  
 „ Denu Nauth Mitter,  
 „ Omesh Chunder Mitter,  
 „ Khettro Mohan Bose,  
 „ Raddica Narain Ghose,  
 „ Jadub Chunder Deb,  
**Pandit Doyal Chunder Sharma,**  
 „ Jodoonauth Shurina,

1st Class. “ I examined the Class in Moral Class Book, Poetical Reader No. I and in Grammar. I also gave the boys to write two sentences from dictation. I was highly gratified with the result of the examination.”

(Signed) Prosunno Coomar Surbadhicary.

“ I examined this class in History, Geography and Arithmetic, and was highly satisfied with the intelligence which the pupils evinced in the first two subjects, but they acquitted themselves not so well in Arithmetic as I expected.”

(Signed.) Greesh Chunder Deb.

“ পরীক্ষা করিয়া দেখিলাম এই শ্রেণীস্থ বালকগণ উক্ত কণ শিক্ত হইয়াছে: কিন্তু পাঠ্যপুস্তক যে “জীবন চরিত” তাহা অতিশয় কঠিন প্রযুক্ত অভিলষারূপে সন্তোষ লাভ করিতে পারিলাম না।”

শ্রী দয়াল চন্দ্র শর্মা।

2nd Class. “ I examined the Class in Reading, Explanation and Grammar. I have expressed the result of examination numerically. Moral Class Book seems to me to be too difficult for the Class”

(Signed) Prosunno Coomar Surbadhicary.

“ The task of examining the pupils of this class in History, Geography and Arithmetic fell to my share ; and I found them well trained in the first and second of these subjects, but the result of their examination in the last was not at all satisfactory, two boys out of eleven having obtained more than half the number of marks.”

(Signed) Greesh Chunder Deb.

“দ্বিতীয় শ্রেণীস্থ বালকবর্গের পরীক্ষা লইয়া তৃত্ত হইয়াছি।”

শ্রী যতুনাথ শর্মা : ১০০

3rd Class. These boys, as a whole, passed a particularly good examination. The text book was Chambers's Rudiments of Knowledge" which they appeared to have well understood as far as they had studied."

(Signed) Omesh Chunder Dutt.

"I examined this Class in Grammar, Geography and Arithmetic. In the first two of these subjects they passed a creditable examination, as the majority of the boys have gained more than half the number of marks. In giving the answers to the questions put to them, they were of course expected to recite the definitions and the rules in the language of the text books, which they did in a manner that reflects the highest credit on the assiduity of the master. I cannot say so highly of their proficiency in Arithmetic. They were also examined in writing from dictation, and the result was on the whole satisfactory."

(Signed) Dinmonauth Mitter.

“তৃত্ত শ্রেণীস্থ বালকবর্গের পরীক্ষা লইয়া তৃত্ত হইয়াছি।”

শ্রী যতুনাথ শর্মা : ১০০

4th Class. "I examined the class in Reading, Explanation, Grammar and Arithmetic. The boys passed satisfactorily in all the branches, except the last, in which I am sorry to say only five boys have obtained respectable number of marks. I would therefore call a greater part of the Teacher's attention to this branch of study."

(Signed) Khetter Mohun Bose

"In vernacular examination the boys of this class could not give me that degree of satisfaction as might be expected from them."

(Signed.) Radhica Narain Ghose.

5th Class. "I examined this class in Chambers's "Second Book of Reading." They read a passage from it, and explained it to my satisfaction as will be evident by a reference to the



marks which I have allotted to them. I asked them also some questions in Grammar which they answered promptly and correctly. In Arithmetic they did not show that degree of progress which I expected from them."

(Signed.) Dinno Nath Mitter.

"এই শ্রেণীর বালকেরা উত্তমরূপে পরীক্ষায় উত্তীর্ণ হইল।"

শ্রীদয়াল চন্দ্র শর্মা।

6th Class. "I examined the boys of this Section in Reading Explanation and Arithmetic. They read and explained passages from their text book to my entire satisfaction. I asked them to spell some words, in which few of them made mistakes. Their answer in Arithmetic did not fall short of my expectation."

(Signed.) Khetter Mohun Bose.

"I examined this Section in vernacular, in which the boys as a whole, passed a good examination."

(Signed.) Jadub Chunder Deb.

6th Class. "In Reading and Explanation the boys of this Sec. B. Section passed a satisfactory examination, which reflects great credit on the Teachers. I also examined them in Vernacular, in which their progress was not so satisfactory, they being deficient in spelling words correctly."

(Signed.) Radhica Narain Ghose.

8. Subjoined is a list of the pupils, who have passed a very creditable examination, and are entitled to Prizes.

**1st. CLASS.**

1. Kedarnath Banerjee. Jr.
2. Bidhoobudun Banerjee.
3. Krishnadhun Ghose.

**2nd. CLASS.**

1. Modhoosoodun Ghosaul.
2. Beneemadhub Mookerjee.
3. Shivadoss Banerjee.

**3rd. CLASS.**

1. Umortolal Deb.
2. Ughornauth Benerjee.
3. Prosunno coomar Ghose.
4. Chunder coomar Banerjee.

**4th. CLASS.**

1. Ramchunder Mitter.
2. Chunder coomar Ghuttuck.
3. Haradhun Banerjee.
4. Khettronaath Surnokar.
5. Mohendernauth Ghose.

**5th. CLASS.**

1. Moteeloll Nundee.
2. Sarodapersaud Daha.
3. Chintamonee Mitter.
4. Panchcowree Bhattacharjee.
5. Mohendernauth Bose.

**6th. CLASS.**

1. Rusikloll Mitter.
2. Indronauth Mookerjee.
3. Rusiklall Biswas.
4. Moteeloll Ghose.
5. Toilokhonaath Chukrobutte.
6. Gopaul Chunder Ghose.
7. Opendronauth Mookerjee.
8. Tincowree Bhattacharjee.
9. Jodoonauth Bose.
10. Gindro Chunder Mitter.
11. Kesub Chunder Mitter.

9. The Committee consider the result of the examination on the whole, satisfactory; but they cannot refrain from noticing the general failure of the boys in Arithmetic. They hope however that the teachers will direct their best energies to this subject, and succeed in supplying the deficiency within a reasonable time.

10. An abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements of the School from 1st May 1855 to 30th April 1856, together with its Dependencies and Liabilities is given below.

| DISBURSEMENTS.                |       |    |   | RECEIPTS.                         |      |    |   |
|-------------------------------|-------|----|---|-----------------------------------|------|----|---|
| To Establishment              | 781   | 14 | 3 | By Balance of last year's account | 9    | 11 | 9 |
| „ School apparatus and books  | 59    | 4  | 3 | „ Schooling fees.                 | 617  | 14 | 0 |
| „ Prizes distributed          | 21    | 1  | 6 | „ Donation from Government        | 80   | 0  | 0 |
| „ Building of the Head        |       |    |   | „ Ditto from private persons      | 83   | 14 | 0 |
| Master's house &c.            | 93    | 4  | 0 | „ Government Grant                | 90   | 0  | 0 |
| „ Contingencies               | 20    | 0  | 6 | „ Private contributions.          | 139  | 7  | 0 |
|                               | <hr/> |    |   | „ Transfer from the building      |      |    |   |
|                               | 975   | 8  | 6 | „ Fund                            | 25   | 0  | 0 |
|                               | <hr/> |    |   | „ Rent of the ground endowed      |      |    |   |
| No Balance in hand.           | 72    | 6  | 3 | to the School                     | 2    | 0  | 0 |
|                               | <hr/> |    |   |                                   |      |    |   |
| Total....                     | 1047  | 14 | 9 | Total                             | 1047 | 14 | 9 |
|                               |       |    |   |                                   |      |    |   |
| LIABILITIES.                  |       |    |   | DEPENDENCIES.                     |      |    |   |
|                               |       |    |   |                                   |      |    |   |
| Establishment for April 1855. | 115   | 0  | 0 | Government Grant in arrear.       | 60   | 0  | 0 |
|                               |       |    |   | Private contributions in arrear.  | 38   | 3  | 0 |
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11. The Committee feel sincere pleasure in stating that the school has become very popular, and that applications for admission are daily made, which the Committee are at present obliged to decline for want of sufficient accommodation. Steps will however be taken to meet the growing demand of the village.

12. As the present staff of teachers will not be sufficient for any increased number of boys, the Committee deem it necessary to appoint another assistant teacher. To provide the requisite fund for this measure, they propose increasing the rate of schooling fees in some of the higher Classes, the present being the uniform rate of 8 annas per month.

13. The Government Vernacular school in the Village being abolished from the 1st Instant, it is the intention of the Committee to establish a Vernacular class in connection with this institution for the education of the poorer inhabitants.

Greesh Chunder Deb.  
Secretary.

*Konnugur, the May 25, 1856.*



# A FULL AND CORRECTED REPORT

## OF

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING IN HONOR OF LORD CANNING.

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Pursuant to previous announcement, a public meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall, on Tuesday, the 25th February 1862, at 4 P. M. for the purpose of testifying their respect and gratitude to Lord Canning for his general administration of the country. The meeting was attended by all classes of the community, and the spacious Town Hall was literally crowded to overflowing. Among others, we noticed the following Noblemen and Gentlemen:—Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor, Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor, Rajah Narendrakrishna Bahadoor, Rajah Pertap Chunder Singh Bahadoor, Rajah Sutto Shurn Ghosaul Bahadoor, Rajah Rutton Singh, the Hon'ble Rajah Dinkur Rao, the Hon'ble Rajah Deonarain Singh, Baboo Ramapersaud Roy, the Hon'ble Mr. Harington, the Hon'ble Mr. Erskine, the Hon'ble Mr. Eden, Mr. Grey, Mr. Young, Mr. Wylie, Mr. Hume, Mr. W. F. Fergusson, Mr. A. King, Mr. Grant, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Piffard, Mr. Brett, Mr. Agabeg, Mr. Shircore, Baboo Heeralaul Seal, Baboo Ramanauth Tagore, Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose, Baboo Pannalaul Seal, Baboo Chooneelaul Seal, Nawab Asgar Ali Khan Bahadoor, Moonshee Ameer Ali, Moulvie Abdool Luteef, Coonar Outtyanund Ghosaul, Baboo Rama Nauth Law, Baboo Brojobullub Mullick, Baboo Chundermohun Chatterjee, Baboo Hurro Nauth Roy, Baboo Kallykissen Tagore, Baboo Shib Chunder Guho, Baboo Obhoychurn Guho, Baboo Obhoychurn Bannerjee, Baboo Koylaschunder Ghose, Baboo Neelmoney Muttylul, Baboo Degumber Mitter, Baboo Rajenderlul Mitter, Baboo Joteendromohun Tagore, Baboo Wopendermohun Tagore, Baboo Khelutchunder Ghose, Baboo Eshanchunder Bose, Baboo Dwarkanauth Mullick, Baboo Rammohun Mullick, Baboo Prosod-

doss Mullick, Baboo Gobinchunder Sen, Baboo Pearymohun Day, Baboo Nugenderchunder Ghose, Baboo Jadubkrishna Singh, Baboo Kaliprosonno Singh, Baboo Denobundo Mullick, Baboo Rajendro Mullick, Baboo Debrendro Mullick, Baboo Shama Churn Mullick, Baboo Soobul Doss Mullick, Baboo Joygopaul Sen, Baboo Tareneychurn Bannerjee, Baboo Horeemohun Sen, Baboo Bissonauth Goopto, Baboo Prosonno Coomar Chowdry, Baboo Kalidoss Dutt, Baboo Ramnarain Mullick, Baboo Odoitchurn Mullick, Baboo Kishenkissor Ghose, Baboo Ramchurn Mullick, Baboo Ramdhone Ghose, Baboo Satcowry Dutt, Baboo Doorgachurn Law, Baboo Greeschunder Dutt, Baboo Greeschunder Ghose, Pundit Eshwarchunder Vydasaghur, Hossun Ibrahim Binjohur, Mohommud Muzhur, Aga Mirza Sheerazee, Aga Roochuk Sheerazee, Aga Syud Hossein Shooshtree, Buzloor Ruhem, Habeebool Hossein, Surafut Hossein, Nuzeer Ali Khan, Syud Looft Ali Khan, Mohommud Wujeeh, Shaikh Ibraheem, Hajee Zakariah Mohommud, Izhar Hossein.

At the appointed hour, the Hon'ble Mr. Cowie, the Sheriff, opened the business of the meeting by reading the Requisition.

Baboo Heeralaul Seal then moved, seconded by Baboo Ramanauth Tagore, that the Sheriff take the chair.

Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor moved the first Resolution as follows :—

“ That the meeting desires to record its high sense of the eminent public services of the Right Hon'ble Earl Canning during his administration of British India, marked as his career has been by consummate ability and rare judgment, by unswerving rectitude of purpose and by a large, liberal and enlightened spirit of justice and mercy which have secured for him the gratitude of the teeming millions of this country.”

Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose, in seconding the Resolution, said : Mr. Sheriff, I have been asked to second the Resolution which has just been proposed. I rise to do so reluctantly, not because I do not feel a warm interest in the cause that has brought us together to-day, but because I feel I will be unable to do justice to the subject of the

Resolution in consequence of having been suffering from an ailment for some days past. I am however persuaded that to such an audience as I see before me, little need be said to commend the Resolution for their adoption, as I know the feeling is universal among native gentlemen of all classes, that our most cordial acknowledgments are pre-eminently due to the departing Governor-General. Sir, I cannot pretend to pass in review all that has transpired during the six eventful years of Lord Canning's administration. I will however briefly allude to the leading features of the policy, which has guided him in the government of these vast territories. You will remember, gentlemen, that a little more than twelve months after he landed in India, the mutiny of the native army broke out, and the terrible misdeeds and horrors to which it led, shook the Empire to its very base. In those perilous and momentous times, the Head of the Government had a most onerous duty to perform. In the midst of those dangers and difficulties, it was impossible to have re-established peace, good order and prosperity, without being guided by consummate wisdom and forethought, with a courage truly heroic, with an adamant firmness of purpose to deal out even-handed justice—retributive justice where retribution was called for, justice tempered with mercy, where considerations of a contrary nature evoked into exercise that divine attribute of the human heart. Lord Canning has lived to witness the complete success of his policy. Where confusion reigned order has been established. Where rebellion reared its gory head, contentment has been restored. Peace and plenty now shines forth where bloodshed and disorder were rampant. Lord Canning's policy was to punish the wicked, to encourage the faithful, and to win over by conciliation the wavering subjects of the British Crown. True it was, that Lord Canning has past through the greatest crisis in the history of British India, and "time the corrector where our judgments err" has now proved the excellency of his policy. Following upon the mutiny, came the embarrassing financial difficulties of the country, very much aggravated as they were by the mutiny itself. The various measures taken to overcome them were subjects of the most anxious attention to the Governor-General. The success which has attended them prove how



well they were generally adapted to the end in view. True, he had been ably aided in these measures by his talented colleagues, but as every act required his *imprimatur*, we may not unfairly identify them with the viceroyal policy. The measures adopted were on the one hand that of retrenchment, and on the other of new taxation. None will quarrel with the former, but there will always be a difference of opinion as regards the latter. I however for one have always considered the Income Tax a just one on principle. It has doubtless been felt by many as a personal hardship, but it cannot be denied that if we wish to enjoy the blessings of peace, it is our duty to contribute our quota towards the expenses of maintaining it. I believe, Sir, the Government sincerely desires to make the burden as light as possible, as has just been proved by the crowning act of Lord Canning's administration. Need I say I allude to the abolition of the License Tax, which is an earnest that whenever taxation can be safely dispensed with the government will not be backward in relieving us. Depend upon it that if the present flourishing state of the finances goes on prospering, the time is not distant when the Income Tax as well will be repealed.

Hitherto whether intentionally or otherwise, we have seen each successive Governor-General bent upon an aggressive and aggrandizing policy; that of Lord Canning has been one of consolidation, placing the affairs of the Empire on a sound and broad basis so as to bring forth the fruits of peace and contentment. In confirmation of what I say I need only allude to the settlement of Oude and of the Punjaub, to the consolidation of the Nagpore Provinces and, last not least, to the amalgamation of British Burmah. All these are proofs of Lord Canning's anxiety to place the affairs of the state on that consolidated basis, on which depends the safety of the Empire.

During Lord Canning's administration great advances have been made in the material improvement of the country. The progress of railways has been latterly satisfactory—great improvements are taking place in steam communication between the different portions of this vast Empire. Great efforts are making for encouraging the growth



and export of Cotton from India. Considerable expenses have been sanctioned for the construction of what may be called Cotton Roads. The Redemption of the Land Tax and the sale of Waste Lands in fee-simple are two large measures of the greatest importance which have lately been past. They are fraught with future benefit, which will prove alike advantageous to the people and the state. The unrestricted right of adoption which has been conceded to the Chiefs and Princes cannot fail to be grateful to them. It has indeed been already hailed with the warmest feelings of grateful admiration. Such are some of the benefits which the departing Governor-General has conferred upon the country. Can we then remain silent on the occasion of his departure ?

There is one point and I believe one point only in Lord Canning's policy on which I have heard a difference of opinion. It has been said that at the time of the mutiny, he leaned too much towards clemency and conciliation. I do not desire to reopen this sore subject, but this much I might safely say that speaking from a native point of view, the more I think of his Lordship's conduct during that dangerous period, the stronger is my sense of gratefulness. When the cry was vengeance, ruthless vengeance, who stepped in between the hangman and his victim ? who saved the innocent from being embroiled with the wicked ? who infused into the heart of the avenger a sense of justice ? In the midst of the scenes of devastation and massacre, Lord Canning appeared indeed as if he were the protecting Angel from heaven. It would therefore ill become the Native Community if they do not cheerfully tender to him their most grateful acknowledgments for the good that he has done to them. Thanks to that education, which has been so rapidly extending under the fostering care of Lord Canning, there are now thousands, aye, tens of thousands throughout the length and breadth of these vast territories who do understand and understanding, appreciate the Policy of Government. And amongst those thousands, Sir, I am certain there is not a pulse that will not throb the quicker as they pronounce a benediction upon the departing Governor-General, there is not a tongue that will not raise its voice of commendation, there is not a heart that will not glow the warmer, and glowing, bless him who has showered so many blessings upon them.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

*Baboo Ramanauth Tagore* said, it had been entrusted to him to move the second Resolution. It would be presumption on his part to attempt to make a speech after the eloquent one they had just heard made by Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose; but what he did say he said with honest feeling. He was glad to see such a large gathering for the purpose of doing honour to Lord Canning before he left India. If his Lordship had been allowed to depart without such a tribute of respect being paid to him it would have been a slur on the national character of the Natives. Soon after his arrival, Lord Canning had been beset with formidable difficulties, but these difficulties were overcome by a wise and vigorous policy, which had resulted in the thorough restoration of peace and tranquillity. Those present had not forgotten when the mutiny arose that a cry of vengeance was raised on all sides. Lord Canning, however, had firmly adhered to the side of mercy, and in so doing had saved an immense number of innocent lives. He (the speaker) had lived during the administrations of Lord Bentinck, Lord Auckland, Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie, but he was sure that in a political point of view, the administration of Lord Canning was one to which the historian will never fail to give a prominent place in the history of India. He had heard with mortification that a portion of the Native community did not approve of the later acts of his rule, perhaps they had their reasons, but whether they had them or not, he must say that the position of the Governor-General was a peculiar one. He had to govern 200 millions of men of different races, of different creeds, with different habits and customs, and to please them all was surely a Herculean task. Would they find fault with a man who had conferred ninety-nine favours upon them because he could not complete the number of one hundred? If so, they did injustice to one of the noblest feelings which God had given us—gratitude. He had seen in the *Hurkaru* some articles which were likely to be detrimental to the native interest, inasmuch as it was said that the meeting had been called in opposition to the address presented to the Judges of the Supreme Court. This, on the part of his countrymen, he begged most emphatically to deny, for the present

(77)

meeting had been determined on fully two months before the address to the Judges had been presented. Those articles had been written with a view to create a bad feeling towards his countrymen on the part of Englishmen. But he hoped that Englishmen, as true Englishmen, would not be led away by such writings, but follow the dictates of their own feelings, and make no difference between creed and colour. He would propose the adoption of the address which would now be read to them.

Mr. John Cochrane, at the request of Baboo Ramanauth Tagore, then read the following address :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY EARL CANNING, G. C. B., G. M. & C.,  
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

&c.,                      &c.,                      &c.

MY LORD,

We the inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity, venture to approach your Excellency, on the eve of your departure, in order to express to you the regret felt by us all on your resigning the government.

During the eventful period of your administration, we have never failed to admire the justice and impartiality which have always characterized your actions.

It is with mingled feelings of respect and gratitude that we call to mind your humane and merciful conduct to our unfortunate and misguided countrymen, exercised at a time when, by most men, the principles of moderation would have been forgotten.

We thank your Lordship for the late extraordinary reduction of taxation, which at the very time it lessens the burthens of the poor, furnishes the best proof of the prosperous condition of the country.

We are grateful for the many liberal measures which have adorned your administration : for the principles of justice so constantly

inculcated by you, rendered doubly dear by being blended with a humanity dictated by wisdom and moderation.

In the establishment of the Councils of the Empire, we recognize an anxious desire to forward the interests and well-being of India.

We thank your Excellency for the valuable privilege which you have conferred upon the community by allowing the redemption of the landed revenue ; and we are especially grateful for the careful protection of the interests of the public creditor, which is apparent on the face of the proclamation issued by your Lordship.

At no time has your Excellency been ever wanting in promoting the welfare of your fellow creatures ; the cause of education never had a warmer friend.

We need not enlarge on your many noble and charitable actions.

We lament the existence of the present disputes in Bengal, and the bad passions created by them. In accordance with the benevolent suggestions of your Excellency, we earnestly trust that these our better days may give rise to kinder feelings and that resentments of every kind among all classes of society may pass away and be forgotten. If such should be, it will not be the least cheering reflection in the mind of your Lordship when parting from the land you have governed so long.

We look upon your Excellency as one who has saved this country from great and impending calamity—the results are before us:—A mutiny suppressed ; public credit maintained ; and peace universal.

Nothing now remains but to bid your Excellency farewell. Safe may you return to your native land ; the good wishes of all attend you.

Think, at times, kindly of a people by whom you will always be held in respectful and grateful honor.

. ( 9 ) .

Once again farewell. In the far land of the West—if justice and humanity be ever honored—you cannot but hold a most distinguished place.

*Mr. Cochrane* said he had much pleasure in seconding the motion. We meet here, gentlemen, in times calmer than those which greeted the Governor-General in the early part of his administration.

Thank Heaven, those troubled days are gone—never, I sincerely trust again to return.

It will gratify all to learn that the melancholy anticipations of many regarding the revenues of India are not likely to be realized. By the labours of a Committee, appointed by the head of this Government, income and expenditure are more than equal. The late remission of taxes is an evidence of the prosperous condition of the country. It is pleasing, Sir, to behold so many assembled on this occasion to pay a tribute in parting to one whose firmness, ability and moderation, to my view, not lightly assisted in protecting you and your families through months of difficulty and danger.

I never remember any Governor General so wholly free from all unworthy feelings as the present. In others, I have at times noticed the marks of prejudice and passion, but this man has been always placable and ever just. Never yet had he the misfortune to learn from his own actions, that moderation becomes the resentment of a gentleman. You yourselves have witnessed the untiring calumny and abuse which have followed him through years of his Government. In that calumny and abuse few, if indeed any, of all assembled to-day, have ever joined.

Nothing but the consciousness of doing his duty could have supported him through the painful and arduous trials he has undergone.

I need not here enlarge on the well known liberality of Lord Canning, but all of you are aware of his long continued exertions in the cause of civilization by promoting the education of man. This matter

has been already alluded to and no doubt will be more fully commented on by others who may address you. I will content myself here with observing that if ever any man deserved well of his fellow citizens, this high-minded and able Governor merits honor from all.

You all remember the siege of Lucknow—I know not whether the escape of the inhabitants of the city when the town was won, arose from the direct orders of the Governor-General or whether such was the result of the principles of justice so constantly supported by him, but this I do know, that such an act was an act acceptable to God and to man.

Well may you, Princes and native gentlemen of India, well may you thank this nobleman in the name of your unfortunate and misguided countrymen for his humanity towards them. Believe me, it will be an acceptable tribute to pay at the close his eventful and memorable administration, during every portion of which he has pursued the just and the honorable line of conduct, and in no one instance has ever degraded the distinguished name he bears or tarnished the memory of the celebrated Statesman from whom he is descended.

There is one matter alluded to in the address so important to the interests of the public and Government that with your permission I will make a few observations upon it. I allude to the redemption of the landed revenue.

The 41 and 42 clauses in His Lordship's Proclamation are as follows:—

“The price to be paid is fixed at 20 years' purchase of the existing assessment. Doubts are expressed by experienced officers whether many purchasers will come forward at such a rate so long as the current rates of interest for money lent on security, or employed in trade continue so high as at present. But justice to the public creditor, and a due care for the resources of the Government require that, as long as the public revenue is no more than sufficient to meet the current charges of the Empire and the interest of

its debt, no lower terms of redemption of a permanent tax forming the security for that debt, should be accepted than will, when the price is invested in the public securities, afford a corresponding relief in the payment of interest." Nothing, Sir, can be fairer than such provisions, for as by Act of Parliament the revenues of the country are specifically pledged for the payment of the territorial debt,—if the price to be paid for the redemption of the revenue had been fixed at ten years' purchase instead of 20—the security of the public creditor on the amount realized by such sale would have been lessened one-half. All that seems wanting to this great measure is a direction by the Legislature that on the receipt of any funds arising from such redemption that such money should be immediately applied to the reduction of the public debt.

The fund produced by the sale of the Government Revenue stands on the same footing as the sinking fund did in England—both are intended to reduce the debt of the country. I am fearful, Sir, of leaving any such fund to accumulate either in Company's Paper or the Public Treasury. Some emergency may arise, which may dissipate the fund itself.

The mischief of leaving such fund in the hands of any Government is well observed on by Adam Smith in his great work on the Wealth of Nations. The passage is short and I will read it to you.

"During the most profound peace, various events occur which require an extraordinary expense, and Government find it always more convenient to defray this expense by mis-applying the sinking fund, than by imposing a new tax.

"To borrow of the sinking fund is always an obvious and easy expedient for getting out of the present difficulty. The more the public debt may have accumulated, the more necessary it may have become to study to reduce it, the more dangerous, the more ruinous it may be to misapply any part of the sinking fund; the less likely is the public debt to be reduced to any considerable degree, the more likely, the



more certainly is the sinking fund to be misapplied towards defraying the extraordinary expenses which occur in a time of peace."

The observations of private men seldom attract attention, but the serious warning contained in this passage cannot be neglected with impunity.

By directing the immediate application of the sums received to the extinction of a corresponding amount, you prevent the possibility of misapplication, and all danger to the interests of the public in general is avoided. If the precaution I speak of be adopted, the Nobleman at the head of this Government will earn an additional title to that respect which already is so justly his due.

One word more, Gentlemen, that I may not, this day again trespass on your attention. If it should be proposed to offer a testimonial to the Governor General, and if such proposition should be supported by the votes of this Assembly, let it be, I entreat of you, some public monument like the classical statue which adorns this city, to be placed before all, not merely that you may admire the triumph of art or the beauty of its execution ; but that it may stand forth as a memorial of gratitude and of honor to point out to his successors the reward of humanity and justice.

*The Chairman* said he perfectly concurred with the wording of the address except that part which said " we the inhabitants of India." He would prefer if it were written, " we the native inhabitants of India," and if that one word were inserted, he would be satisfied, as this was wholly a native meeting, there not being more than 12 or 13 European gentlemen present. (Cries of no ! no !)

*Mr. Piffard* said he objected strongly to the insertion of the word. He as well as others there that day came at the public invitation of the Sheriff of Calcutta. In accordance with the public notification, any one might come, any one might oppose.

*Mr. Hume* said if there was the slightest chance of his being heard, he would like to say a few words relative to the suggestion made by the Chairman to interpolate a word into the address. If the requisition had been a wholly native one, it would have been right and proper, and it would have been very impertinent for any one to interfere, but it was not so, it had been publicly notified in the newspapers and he knew nothing but what he saw in them. It was true that the Sheriff was not a countryman of the sepoys, but neither was he (*Mr. H.*) a member of the Native community: he had been for many years resident in Calcutta and he wished to add his voice and name in support of the object of the day's meeting. If the Sheriff were to insert the word Native it would preclude his doing so. If the right he claimed under the Sheriff's invitation was disallowed he had no more to say.

*Mr. Piffard* understood that it was a public meeting, to which any European in Calcutta might have come, and if he objected to any thing, he might raise his voice. In that light he would make a few observations, and if the words "misguided countrymen" in the address were so obnoxious he would say "fellow subjects," which term he was sure would meet with the approval of the meeting. The men who were hostile to this meeting dared not come forward, and it was unfair to alter the words in the address, unfair to the Europeans in general; it was a public meeting and not right that two or three should stand in a corner and propose and alter as they thought proper. (Cries of—no alteration!)

*Mr. W. Brett* said:—Before any amendment was put to the meeting, he wished to say a few words and with their permission to be better heard, he would give himself a temporary elevation (by mounting on a table.) He came there in his public duty as a journalist and nothing more, and to give his fullest support to the meeting as he understood it to be, and that was a purely native one to do honor to a man to whom honor was due and to whom they owed so much, and to whom the highest praises should be awarded, but from the way the meeting had gone on, and from the course it was taking he felt compelled to fulfil a yet higher duty than what he came for and raise his voice in opposition. He

stood there knowing that he represented the European population of Calcutta. (Loud uproar, derisive shouts and cries of no! no!) If they would remain quiet, they would understand what he was going to say: he would beg to move an amendment upon what had been put and every one would agree to it.

It has been said that it was a public meeting, so that the gentlemen who had objected put themselves upon the footing of attendants on the meeting, and he also as such an attendant begged to have the resolution as it originally stood and with this amendment, "The Native Inhabitants of Calcutta with the concurrence of the European gentlemen whose names are appended."

In making this amendment, he would repeat that he came there with the intention of heartily supporting the address through the press, believing it to be a just and proper one as far as natives were concerned. He should be glad to see his amendment seconded, but as in looking around him he saw no European gentlemen but the two or three whose opinions had been avowed, and it might therefore find no seconder, he would remark that an amendment did not necessarily require to be seconded and could be put to the meeting and recorded without it.

Mr. Brett's amendment was then put to the meeting, and negatived; after which the original motion was put and carried.

Baboo Ramapersaud Roy next moved the third Resolution as under :—

"That his Lordship be requested to sit for his Statue in England and that it be erected in the City of Calcutta as a memorial of his Lordship's successful administration of the British Indian Empire."

He said :—

I have been entrusted with the duty of proposing the third Resolution, which I most cheerfully move and commend to your consideration.

Under ordinary circumstances, as a public officer, I would have thought very differently about joining a Public Meeting. But I feel no delicacy on the present occasion—I consider it a fallacy to suppose that, because a man accepts office, he gives up his nationality, loses all his feelings for the good and the great, all his sensibilities for the appreciation of justice and humanity, and all his affection and regard for those who are justly entitled to our esteem and admiration. Gentlemen, we are assembled here to-day on a peculiar and extraordinary occasion. This is not a solitary instance in which the citizens of this great metropolis have met to do honor to a departing Governor-General at the close of his rule. Dozens of times, if not more, have we met on similar occasions. But, gentlemen, you will recollect that all those meetings were mainly organized by Europeans, brought about by Europeans, and carried out by Europeans. This day we behold a monster meeting of the sons of India. Not a party or a class meeting, or a meeting induced by the action of the governing classes, but we see all India, as it were, consisting of representatives of innumerable classes and creeds, turning out, of their free will and accord, this fair evening, to pay a parting tribute to one who has so richly deserved India's homage and gratitude.

Gentlemen, I do not purpose, in the course of a short address, even if I had the talent, to review the eminent services rendered to India by Lord Canning. In recounting those services, perhaps you will not find things to dazzle your eye or captivate your fancy. Perhaps you will not hear of great and glorious battles fought and won or some great extraordinary annexations made, but, gentlemen, there is in Lord Canning's services something so very substantial, something so very intimately connected with you and everything dear to you, something so very materially congenial to the best and greatest interests of India, that I have no doubt, when I come to consider them, that both you and those who come after you will find abundant reasons to cherish the name of Lord Canning as the greatest benefactor of India. After what you have just heard, need I recount to you how he saved you and India at a crisis perhaps unparalleled in the history of nations? At a time when passions had

been raised to their highest pitch, when the foul deeds of a misguided few out of millions of our countrymen had excited a spirit of indiscriminate revenge and retribution, it was owing to the unswerving courage, uncompromising justice, moderation, and humanity of that nobleman that myriads of innocent beings were saved from a premature and ignominious death, that the lives and property of millions of Her Majesty's loyal subjects were vouchsafed to them, aye, that we are enabled to appear to-day, at this great meeting, as free citizens, men of substance and intelligence to be listened to and cared for. This is, gentlemen, but the dark side of his rule, or what according to Hindoo notions may be called the iron days of his administration. But if you look to his golden days or the bright side of his rule, you find the last years of it characterised by acts and measures at once calculated to secure peace, harmony and security throughout the land, and to promote the material, social, and intellectual advancement of India. No sooner had the clatter of arms subsided and the mouth of the cannon been shut, than Lord Canning, instead of looking upon those around him with universal distrust, which circumstances might have justified, most nobly set about to make a wise and benevolent discrimination between the loyal and the disloyal, largely and generously rewarding the former, and justly though mercifully punishing the latter.

Gentlemen, whether you look to the restoration of the confiscated estates in Oudh; to the re-settlement of that province; the suppression of that most infamous practice of infanticide; or the abolition of the bar which was laid upon the princes and magnates of this land, in the exercise of their right of adoption, according to their own religious views;—whether you look to the reforms in the administration of justice; the two universal Codes, Civil and Criminal, giving security of life and property to the rich and poor alike; the encouragement given to the cause of education; the impetus given to the development of the resources of this country by the influx of European capital and enterprise on sound and just principles;—or whether you look to the measures adopted for equalising the expenditure and income of this vast empire, and those for the redemption of the revenue and the sale of waste lands,—you will find that the advancement

of India's interests always has been foremost in the thoughts of his Lordship. But the culminating measure of his administration, to which I would draw your attention has been the recognition of the national policy, which is most erroneously called Lord Canning's native policy. Lord William Bentinck, in 1829, laid the foundation of that policy, but it was left to Lord Canning's administration to carry it out. He has introduced in India a system of self-government, by investing landholders and other respectable men without distinction of country or creed, with responsible power, to be exercised for the benefit of the country ; and he has allowed the Natives, alike with Europeans, a share in the highest offices of the State to which human ambition can aspire. Would our ancestors believe, were it possible for them to hear of what we see, that a Rajah Dinkur Rao and a Rajah Pertaub Chunder Singh sit with the British Viceroy and the Lieutenant Governor, in the Councils of the Empire, and advise those high dignitaries as to what measures would be for the benefit of the country ?

It is, gentlemen, by these and similar measures that Lord Canning has secured, for the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, the tranquillity, the contentment, good will, and attachment of all India. It is to render homage to this personage, to mark substantially our sense of his services, to perpetuate the memory of his wise and liberal acts, that we have met here this day ; and it is to be hoped that you will show to the world, by what we do and resolve at this Meeting, that India is not backward in justly appreciating and gratefully acknowledging the eminent services of her rulers.

Gentlemen, I cannot conceive any memorial, which can fully or adequately express our gratitude to the nobleman, whose departure we regret. But in commending the Resolution, which I have to propose to your consideration, let me exhort you to vote such a memorial as may be worthy of the services of Lord Canning, worthy of his great and eminent services, and worthy of India and the millions of her people whom you here represent.

*Rajah Pertaub Chunder Singh* seconded the Resolution, after which,

*Mr. Hume said*,—Sir ; before you put this Resolution, I desire to address the Meeting. I have no part set down for me in the programme of this day's proceedings : I have had nothing to do with the arrangements, and I saw nothing of the requisition until it was published in the newspapers. As one of the public, I have been invited here by you, and I cannot be present without lifting up my voice in support of the great and good object which has brought together this immense meeting of the Native inhabitants of Calcutta. I am *not* here authorized to represent others in the expression of opinions, political or otherwise, but I am here to speak for myself something of what I know and feel, and I should for ever hold myself in contempt if I hesitated to do so because I am not supported by a body of my fellow-countrymen. Gentlemen, let us not be too hard upon the absent : it is impossible that many of the non-official portion of the European community of Calcutta should be here : in 1857 they committed themselves beyond redemption : they clamoured and petitioned for the recall of the Governor-General, and attacked him with a virulence quite unparalleled as a man wholly unequal to the trust reposed in him, the Government of this great Empire : it is obvious it would be impossible for them to join us on this occasion without—I may almost use the term—hideous self-stultification. Let us not then triumph over the defeat and disaster that has befallen them, but leave them quietly in the pitiable condition in which they have placed themselves. When I recall that memorable petition, memorable not only for its unreasoning violence and insolent tone, but for the calm, perspicuous, unanswerable, and gentlemanly reply it received from Lord Canning, scattering all its calumnies to the winds, I feel still more strongly how utterly impossible it is that any of the parties to it should have been here to-day. I repeat that I am not authorized to speak for them, but I venture to hope they will excuse me for saying they are ashamed of the past. I am justified in saying so, for have they not arrived at the conviction that the best thing that could have happened for India would have been Lord Canning's continuance at the head of the Government ! What need then of their most sweet voices to vote a statue or their signatures to an address ! Now, gentlemen, I beg you to understand that I am no thick-and-thin supporter of Lord Canning : there are measures he has approved that I cannot

go with, but in reviewing such a career as his, years of labour bestowed on such a trust as he has had imposed on him, is it common justice that we should declare against him on particular grounds while the balance of good is largely in his favour? If we lived an hundred years, we should not have a Governor-General who on all occasions gave satisfaction to all parties: we have several statues of the predecessors of Lord Canning, and with the exception perhaps of Lord Hardinge, who retired before his time, after being engaged in war preparations and in the field for a very large portion of his rule, there were very strong parties against portions of their policy, or the policy attributed to them. Lord William Bentinck, the most popular Governor-General with the people of this country who ever came here, had a powerful party against him. Lord Auckland received a statue while we were yet horror-stricken at the disaster in Afghanistan, and before it was known that the policy which led to it was not his own, and Lord Dalhousie alienated a large number of his admirers by the crowning act of his administration.—I am sorry to have to say not a crowning of any credit—the—well it is over now and perhaps I had better only say—the *annexation* of Oude. In all these instances the public did what generosity and justice alike demand—they weighed the good and the bad, or what they deemed the good and the bad, and pronounced their verdict accordingly. The proposition before us is for a statue of Lord Canning, in acknowledgement of his services to India. I beg you to remember that a statue is more an honor to the givers than to the receiver: what does posterity care about a statue to this man or the other, except as it marks contemporary appreciation. In history a man's acts stand independent of statues or any other testimonials, and I believe that the record of the last five years will be among the brightest pages of the history of this great country. Gentlemen, it has pleased the Almighty to visit Lord Canning while about to depart from among us with the severest calamity that can fall on man. Let us all pray—and for myself I earnestly do—that it may please God to give him consolation in a future active career, and that his great abilities and matured wisdom may be devoted, as they have been for the last six years, to the prosperity of India and the happiness of its people.



*The Hon'ble Rajah Dinkur Rao* also supported the Resolution in the following terms delivered in Hindoostani:—I offer my thousand thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General Lord Canning for his goodness and kindness towards me personally. But it is a more gratifying thing to me that by admitting me into his own Council for the most important and confidential business of State, his Lordship has testified how much confidence has Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen in His Highness the Maharajah of Gwalior. The following are some of the most important and meritorious acts which His Lordship performed for the good of the country. He dispelled the doubts of the Princes and Chiefs about their old custom of adoption ; he gave Enams, Honors, and Zemindarces to Natives suitable to their services and loyalty. He conferred high offices on them by opening the Council Chamber and the Judicial Service. He raised the Talookdars in Oudh to importance and so on.

There are two divisions of the people in India, one the Princes and Chiefs, and the other the Government's own subjects. For guaranteeing to the Princes and Chiefs the permanency of their estates, he dispelled their doubts about adoption, and for the good of the people he admitted natives into the Councils for making laws and regulations. Now it will depend on the intelligence of the legislators to do good to their fellow-subjects. This was enough to convince the people of the liberal and just policy of His Lordship.

The departure of such a well-wisher of the country was no doubt much to be regretted. But it was gratifying that he will advocate the cause of the Indians before Her Most Gracious Majesty.

There are two modes of gratifying a desire of seeing a person who is far away ; one to write letters and the other to have his likeness in picture or statue. But it is impossible to write letters to all. By having a statue of His Lordship many shall have the opportunity of gratifying their wishes of seeing him.

I am much pleased with the native gentlemen of Calcutta for their expressing gratitude to His Lordship for the just and humane policy

which dictated his measures in restoring tranquillity in the mutinous and disturbed provinces of India, as well as for other benefits they have derived from His Lordship's Government.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

Coomar Suttayanund Ghosaul Bahadoor moved the fourth Resolution, seconded by Nawab Asgar Ali Khan Bahadoor,

That the following gentlemen be requested to wait in deputation on His Lordship to present the Address —

|                                             |                               |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor                    | Bahoo Kaliprosunno Singh      |
| Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor                  | Bahoo Rajendro Mullick        |
| Rajah Komulkrishna Bahadoor                 | Baboo S C Mullick             |
| Rajah Narendrakrishna Bahadoor              | Baboo Soobul Doss Mullick     |
| Rajah Pertaub Chunder Singh Bi              | Baboo Horeem shun Sen         |
| Rajah Sutto Shurn Ghosaul Bi                | Baboo Kissenkissore Ghose     |
| His Highness the Rajah of<br>Kuppoorthullah | Baboo Rindhone Ghose          |
| Rajah Dinku Rao                             | Baboo Doogachurn Law          |
| Rajah Deonuram Singh                        | Baboo Groeschunder Ghose      |
| Baboo Heraloll Seal                         | Baboo Hurruchunder Ghose      |
| Baboo Rampersaud Roy                        | Baboo Kassepersaud Ghose      |
| Baboo Ramnauth Tagore                       | Baboo Rajendrolaul Mitter     |
| Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose                       | Baboo Kissorychund Mitter     |
| Moon-see Ameer Ali                          | Baboo Debendronath Tagore     |
| Moulvie Abdool Lutf                         | Baboo Kristodos Paul          |
| Coomar Suttayanund Ghosaul                  | Nawab Asgar Ali Khan Bahadoor |
| Baboo Chunder Mohun Chatterjee              | Hussun Ibrahim Binjohor       |
| Baboo Hurnauth Roy                          | Mohammad Muzhur               |
| Baboo Obhoychurn Goh                        | Agi Mirza Sheera-ze           |
| Baboo Obhoychurn Bannerjee                  | Aga Roohuck Sheera-ze         |
| Baboo Degunbei Mittra                       | Aga Syud Hossein Shooshtree   |
| Baboo Jotendromohun Tagore                  | Burloor Rhuwon                |
| Baboo Wopendromohun Tagore                  | Hubeebool Hossein             |
| Baboo Khelutchunder Ghose                   | Lutafut Hossein               |
| Baboo Eshanchunder Bose                     | Nuzeer Ali, Kahn              |
| Baboo Dwainkauth Mullick                    | Mohummud Wujeeh               |
| Baboo Gobinchunder Sen                      | Shaikh Ibraheem               |
| Baboo Nogender Chunder Ghose                | Hajee Zakariah Mohamed        |
| Baboo Jadubkrishna Singh                    | Izhar Hossein                 |

(With power to add to their number.)

Moulvie Abdool Luteeff supported the Resolution. He said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. After what has fallen from the very able gentlemen who have spoken this evening, it would perhaps be presumption on my part to attempt to speak a word. But as a member of the Mahomedan Community of Bengal, I think it my duty to express the feelings of that Community—a large number of whom I am glad to see around me—on the present occasion.

I shall content myself with saying simply, that I only give expression to the feelings of the Mahomedan Community of Bengal, when I say, that they equally feel grateful to Lord Canning, with their fellow subjects of other denominations in India, for the undeviating justice, liberality, firmness and humanity, which have always characterized his eventful administration.

*Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor* then moved the fifth Resolution.

He said :—Mr. High Sheriff and Gentlemen : The speakers who moved and seconded the preceding Resolutions have already dilated, in their elaborate speeches, upon the liberal acts of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, during his beneficent administration of India ; and have left almost nothing for me to say on this occasion. Among his Lordship's numerous acts for the good of the public, he has given great encouragement to the cause of Native Education which is the great lever for raising the social and moral condition of our countrymen. Therefore instead of detaining you any longer, I beg to move the following Resolution :

• That a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, be appointed to receive subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Statue, and carrying out the object of the preceding Resolutions.

*Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor*

*Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor*

*Rajah Pertaub Chunder Singh B.*

*John Cochrane, Esq*

*J H Cowie, Esq*

*H. Sandeman, Esq*

|                                            |                                           |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Rajah Sutto Shurn Ghosaul Br.              | J. J. Harvey, Esq.                        |
| His Highness the Rajah of Kup-poorthullah. | J. Graham, Esq.                           |
|                                            | C. Piffard, Esq.                          |
| The Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere.              | Manickjee Rustonjee, Esq.                 |
| The Hon'ble C. Beadon.                     | Moonshee Ameer Ali.                       |
| The Hon'ble Rajah Dinkur Rao Br.           | Moulve Abdool Luteef.                     |
| The Hon. Rajah Deonarain Singh Br.         | Baboo Rajenderlaul Mitter.                |
| Rajah Norrendro Krishna Bahadoor.          | Baboo Kissory Chund Mitter                |
| Baboo Ramanauth Tagore.                    | Baboo Hurreemohun Sein.                   |
| Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose                      | Baboo Totendro Mohun Tagore.              |
| Baboo Heeralaul Seal.                      | Baboo Ramapersaud Roy,— <i>Member and</i> |
| Baboo Degumber Mitter.                     | <i>Secretary.</i>                         |

(With power to add to their number. Three to form a quorum.)

The following gentlemen have been since added to the Committee ;

Mr A. R. Young.

The Hon'ble A. Eden.

Coomar Sutt्यानund Ghosaul.

Baboo Kristodoss Paul, to be *Member and Assistant Secretary.*

*The Hon'ble Rajah Deo Narain Singh Bahadoor* seconded the Resolution in a short speech in his Native tongue, a translation of which almost *verbatim* being as follows :—

At the time when the rebel sepoy, in conjunction with the wicked men of the realm, rose against the Government in violation of the laws both of God and man, which it is not necessary to dilate upon here, and which so much provoked many of the ruling classes, who in their turn became naturally very violent, the consequence was that many lives were sacrificed, and many more were on the point of destruction. The Governor General at once proceeded to Allahabad, put a stop to almost a general massacre, and thus numberless lives were saved. At this critical moment, whoever assisted the Government even if in a very imperfect manner, were loaded with rewards. Every man then thought within himself that though life was saved, and reward was received, we were no more to be trusted by our gracious government. But Lo ! his Lordship showed a great increase of

confidence by inviting our countrymen to consult in the settlement of the country and give their voices to its legislation ;—a boon the natives of this country never dreamed of. From failure of direct issue, some of the most distinguished families would have disappeared from the land, had not His Excellency, in order to establish them, kindly recognized the native right of adoption. We naturally desire most, three things on earth ; life, wealth and dignity. Our Viceroy has given us these things unasked : what then can give stronger evidence of his Lordship's sincere love for the country he is about to leave after a most brilliant and successful administration ? The benefits conferred by him upon the country are so great that it is beyond our power in any way to do him justice. It remains for us as our first duty not merely to thank him for his great and good deeds, but to make them known to the world at large, and to transmit that knowledge to all our posterity. I have already observed that it lies not in our power to proportion our gratitude to his kindness ; yet we must endeavour to do what is possible for us, by the grateful perpetuation of the honoured name of Lord Canning."

The sixth and last Resolution was moved by *Manuchjee Rustumjee, Esquire*, and seconded by *Rajah Norrendro Krishna Bahadoor*, as under :

" That the Committee be requested to communicate with such parties as they may deem proper in Bombay, Madras, Oudh, the North-West, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab with a view to invite them to join in the Memorial to Lord Canning."

*Baboo Ramunath Tagore* here said that he had received a letter from the Rajah of Burdwan in which the Rajah expressed his hearty approval of the objects of the meeting and would be happy to assist in carrying them out.

The usual vote of thanks to the Sheriff was proposed by *Baboo Khejut Chunder Ghose* and the Meeting separated.





